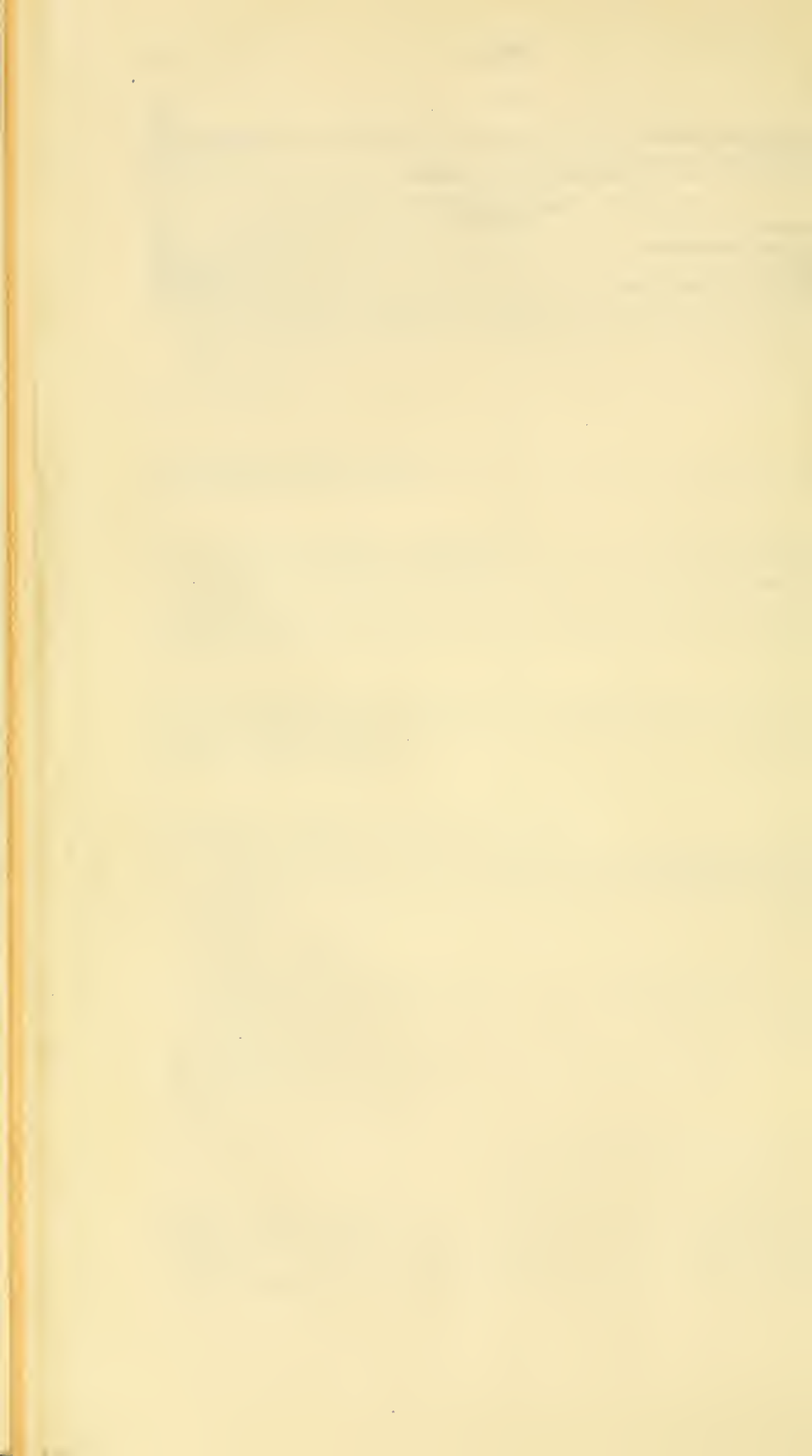


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PASSPORT SECURITY—PART 1

(TESTIMONY OF HARRY R. BRIDGES)

HEARINGS
BEFORE THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

EIGHTY-SIXTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

APRIL 21, 1959
INCLUDING INDEX

Printed for the use of the Committee on Un-American Activities



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COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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AUGUST E. JOHANSEN, Michigan

RICHARD ARENS, *Staff Director*

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PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress [1946], chapter 753, 2d session, which provides:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, * * **

PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

RULE X

SEC. 121. STANDING COMMITTEES

* * * * *
18. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *
(q) (1) Committee on Un-American Activities.
(A) Un-American activities.

(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

* * * * *

RULE XII

LEGISLATIVE OVERSIGHT BY STANDING COMMITTEES

SEC. 136. To assist the Congress in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the Senate and the House of Representatives shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the Congress by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

RULES ADOPTED BY THE 86TH CONGRESS

House Resolution 7, January 7, 1959

* * * * *

RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress,

* * * * *

(q) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

* * * * *

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *

18. Committee on Un-American Activities.

(a) Un-American activities.

(b) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (1) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (2) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (3) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

* * * * *

26. To assist the House in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the House shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the House by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

SYNOPSIS

The instant hearings on passport security are a continuation of hearings held on this subject beginning May 23, 1956.¹

In opening the hearings, the chairman of the committee stated:

Since the last hearings on this subject matter by this committee, the Supreme Court of the United States on June 16, 1958, in the case of *Rockwell Kent and Walter Briehl v. The Secretary of State*, has rendered a decision the effect of which is to completely nullify any control on a security basis in the issuance of passports.

Today, now, the bars are down. Communist agents, propagandists, and Communist sympathizers have a blanket invitation to come and go as they will. I hardly need add a statement, which is obvious, namely that this situation is of direct benefit to the international Communist movement, and of direct detriment to security interests of our Nation.

The first witness whose testimony is hereby published, Mr. Harry Bridges, appeared in response to a subpoena and identified himself as president of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union.² At the outset of the interrogation, Mr. Bridges invoked the fifth amendment in refusing to answer a question as to whether or not he had ever used the name Harry Dorgan which, according to Agnes Bridges, former wife of Harry Bridges, was the name inscribed in Bridges' Communist Party membership book. Mr. Bridges stated that the testimony which was given under oath before a legislative committee in the State of Washington by Agnes Bridges "was later on repudiated" by her, but he persisted in his refusal to answer the question as to whether he had used the name Harry Dorgan in a Communist Party book.

Mr. Bridges testified further that on July 16, 1958, he filed an application for a passport; that in filling out the application he omitted answers to two questions: "Are you now a member of the Communist Party?" and "Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?"—because of recent decisions of the Supreme Court. In response to the query as to whether on the date of filing his application he was "a person who had ever been a member of the Communist Party," Mr. Bridges replied: "I must decline to answer, and I seek the protection of the fifth amendment."

The testimony discloses that Mr. Bridges, accompanied by William Glazier, executive assistant to the officers of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, at the expense of ILWU, traveled to Europe for the purpose of "travel, recreation, and study

¹ See hearings entitled "Investigation of the Unauthorized Use of United States Passports—Parts 1-4."

² Expelled from the CIO in 1950 on the ground of "Communist domination."

of longshoring methods and collective bargaining." Although the passport application listed the countries to be visited as England, France, Italy, Holland, Israel, Egypt, U.S.S.R., and India, the itinerary included certain Iron Curtain countries not listed on the application. During the trip abroad, Mr. Bridges participated in a number of conferences with leading European Communists and gave interviews and issued statements to various Communist publications, commending the Communist controlled labor organizations in the Iron Curtain countries. He also sent to the United States a series of articles in similar vein which were published in *The Dispatcher*, official publication of the ILWU.

Mr. Bridges testified that he expected shortly after the instant hearings to go to Tokyo, Japan, on a U.S. passport to participate in the Pacific-Asia Dock Conference which, the committee is informed, consists principally of representatives of certain Communist-led labor organizations. In this connection, the following excerpt from the testimony is significant:

Mr. ARENS. In the event of war in Asia would you advocate a strike for the purpose of impeding the shipment of arms to our allies in Asia?

Mr. BRIDGES. Now, this is all mixed up here. We start off by talking about a fight between Chiang Kai-shek, who I think is a bum, and the mainland of China. That is something between the Chinese, and you asked me my position on that.

Mr. ARENS. Would you advocate a strike in order to curtail the shipment of supplies in the event the U.S. Government would ship arms to Formosa?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. BRIDGES. Are we still talking about a war between Formosa and mainland China and you asked me what my position was?

Mr. ARENS. Yes.

Mr. BRIDGES. I would object in every possible way I could. You are asking me. Then you asked me——

Mr. ARENS. No, let's just stay with the question, Mr. Bridges. Would you, as president of ILWU, advocate a strike in order to impede the shipments of supplies to Formosa if the U.S. Government were shipping supplies to Formosa and Formosa and Red China were at war?

Mr. BRIDGES. I don't know what this has got to do with passports. But I want to relate to you the position——

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly answer the question?

Mr. BRIDGES. I will answer it in my way, Mr. Counsel, if you want an answer and if you will give me a chance.

The CHAIRMAN. Answer the question.

Mr. BRIDGES. All right. We are still dealing with a possible attempt, as I understand it, of Chiang Kai-shek to invade the mainland of China. I am trying to tell you that my attitude toward that, I would strenuously object and do what I could to oppose the United States engaging in such a suicide enterprise.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly answer the question? Would you exercise your prerogatives as president of ILWU

in the direction of using a strike of longshoremen so as to impede the shipments of these armaments which we have been discussing?

Mr. BRIDGES. I have no such prerogative. You are all mixed up.

Mr. ARENS. Would you advocate a strike?

Mr. BRIDGES. I would prefer to wait and see what would happen at that time. I don't know. At this stage of the game I don't know what I might do.

If I felt doing that would keep the United States from going into such a suicidal enterprise and meaning the loss of life in the United States my position at the moment would be, I think I would.

Finally, attention is drawn to the following testimony:

Mr. ARENS. You have a U.S. passport, however?

Mr. BRIDGES. I do.

Mr. ARENS. Had you ever applied for a U.S. passport prior to the Kent-Briehl decision?

Mr. BRIDGES. No, Mr. Arens. There was too many people in this country trying to get me out without a passport— * * *

PASSPORT SECURITY—PART 1

(Testimony of Harry R. Bridges)

TUESDAY, APRIL 21, 1959

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D.C.

PUBLIC HEARING

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to call, at 10 a.m., in the caucus room, Old House Office Building, Hon. Francis E. Walter (committee chairman) presiding.

Subcommittee members: Representatives Francis E. Walter, Pennsylvania; Morgan M. Moulder, Missouri; Clyde Doyle, California; Donald L. Jackson, California; and Gordon H. Scherer, Ohio.

Committee members also present: Representatives William M. Tuck, Virginia; and August E. Johansen, Michigan. (Appearance as noted.)

Staff members present: Richard Arens, staff director; and Donald T. Appell, investigator.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

The hearings which begin today are in furtherance of the powers and duties of the Committee on Un-American Activities, pursuant to Public Law 601 of the 79th Congress, which not only establishes the basic jurisdiction of the committee, but also mandates this committee, along with other standing committees of the Congress, to exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of the committee.

(Representative Scherer entered the room.)

The CHAIRMAN. In response to this power and duty, the Committee on Un-American Activities is continuously in the process of accumulating factual information respecting Communists, the Communist Party, and Communist activities which will enable the committee and the Congress to appraise the administration and operation of the Smith Act, the Internal Security Act of 1950, the Communist Control Act of 1954, and numerous provisions of the Criminal Code relating to espionage, sabotage, and subversion. In addition, the committee has before it numerous proposals and recommendations to strengthen our legislative weapons designed to protect the internal security of this Nation.

I shall now read the resolution of the Committee on Un-American Activities, authorizing and directing the holding of the instant hearings adopted January 23, 1959:

Be it resolved, That hearings by the Committee on Un-American Activities or a subcommittee thereof, to be held in Washington, D.C., and at such other place or places as the chairman may indicate, on such date or dates as the chair-

man may determine, be authorized and approved, including the conduct of investigations deemed reasonably necessary by the staff in preparation therefor, relating to the following:

1. The advisability of reporting favorably to the House for enactment, amendments to section 215 of the Immigration and Nationality Act as contained in Title IV—Immigration and Passport Security, of H.R. 2232, introduced on January 12, 1959, and referred by the House of Representatives to the Committee on Un-American Activities for its consideration.

2. The advisability of recommending legislation expressing the will and intent of Congress spelled out in direct and positive form, granting authority to the Secretary of State to issue, withhold, or limit passports for international travel of adherents to the Communist Party, and the granting of specific statutory authority to the Secretary of State to issue substantive regulations in the passport field, as set forth in the Annual Report of the Committee on Un-American Activities for the year 1956.

3. The development of factual information which may be of assistance to the committee and to Congress for use in their consideration of the legislative proposals enumerated, or amendments thereto.

4. The execution by the administrative agencies concerned of all laws and regulations, within the jurisdiction of this committee, relating to the granting of passports.

Be it further resolved, That the hearings may include any other matter within the jurisdiction of the committee which it, or any subcommittee thereof appointed to conduct this hearing may designate.

I shall now read the order of appointment of the subcommittee to conduct these hearings:

To Mr. RICHARD ARENS,
Staff Director,

House Committee on Un-American Activities:

Pursuant to the provisions of the law and the rules of this committee, I hereby appoint a subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities, consisting of Representatives Morgan M. Moulder, Clyde Doyle, Donald L. Jackson, and Gordon H. Scherer as associate members, and myself, Francis E. Walter, as chairman, to conduct hearings in Washington, D.C., Tuesday, April 21, 1959, at 10 a.m., on subjects under investigation by the committee and take such testimony on said day or succeeding days, as it may deem necessary.

Please make this action a matter of committee record.

If any member indicates his inability to serve, please notify me.

Given under my hand this 24th day of March 1959.

FRANCIS E. WALTER,

Chairman, Committee on Un-American Activities.

Under date of May 23, 1956, this committee conducted a series of hearings here in Washington with respect to procurement and use of American passports by persons in the service of the Communist conspiracy.

Those hearings in 1956 developed valuable information relating to passport security and travel control which has been the subject of recommendations for legislation by the Committee on Un-American Activities, and which has been, in part, the basis of the provisions of a bill on this subject, H.R. 2232, which I introduced and which is currently pending before the Committee on Un-American Activities.

Since the last hearings on this subject matter by this committee, the Supreme Court of the United States on June 16, 1958, in the case of *Rockwell Kent and Walter Briehl v. The Secretary of State*, has rendered a decision the effect of which is to completely nullify any control on a security basis in the issuance of passports.

Today, now, the bars are down. Communist agents, propagandists, and Communist sympathizers have a blanket invitation to come and go as they will. I hardly need add a statement, which is obvious, namely that this situation is of direct benefit to the international

Communist movement, and of direct detriment to security interests of our Nation.

It is more than a coincidence that these very hearings beginning today are the subject of vigorous attack by the Moscow Radio in its international broadcasts, and that just last evening at the Willard Hotel here in Washington, the Communist front, the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, held a rally to attempt to whip up enthusiasm against these instant hearings. I have often said that the effectiveness of this committee is in direct ratio to the intensity of the attack against the committee by the Communist apparatus.

It is, of course, not sufficient for us to view with alarm, lament, and bewail. Effective action must be taken promptly to protect the security of this Nation. In the course of these hearings we shall be interrogating a number of people who have in the recent past been issued U.S. passports for travel abroad. Notwithstanding charges to the contrary, these people have not been summoned before this committee capriciously, for the sake of exposure or for any purpose other than to enable this committee to develop factual information for its legislative purposes.

Because of the vast scope of the subject matter and the great number of witnesses who could be subpoenaed, we expect in these hearings over the course of the next few days, only to sample types and patterns of cases. Should we attempt to interrogate in these hearings even a significant percentage of possible witnesses on whom we have compiled information we would be engaged in this one project for months to the detriment of other equally important projects on which the committee is working in other areas.

It is the policy of the committee to accord any witness the privilege of being represented by counsel; but within the provisions of the rules of this committee, counsel's sole and exclusive prerogative is to advise his client.

Mr. Arens, will you call your first witness?

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman, may I make a request at this time?

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Jackson.

Mr. JACKSON. The chairman made reference to the meeting held, I believe, last night at the Willard Hotel, and I would like to request, Mr. Chairman, that this call to the meeting be duplicated, attached to a copy of the committee's publication "Operation Abolition" and sent to all Members of the House in order that they may be kept abreast of what is going on.

The CHAIRMAN. I am sure that the Members of the House would recognize the names of the speakers. They are quite familiar.

Mr. JACKSON. Those are being documented, and I will ask at a proper time to have the names of the speakers incorporated in the record.

Mr. ARENS. May the record show that more than a quorum of the subcommittee is present.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. Let the record show present Messrs. Doyle, Scherer, Jackson, and myself.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, if you please, the first witness will be Mr. Harry Bridges.

Kindly come forward and remain standing while the chairman administers an oath.

The CHAIRMAN. Raise your right hand, please.

Do you swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. BRIDGES. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Be seated.

**TESTIMONY OF HARRY R. BRIDGES, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL,
GEORGE R. ANDERSEN**

Mr. ARENS. Kindly identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. BRIDGES. My name is Harry Bridges. I am the president of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, independent and unaffiliated.

Mr. ARENS. And your residence, please, sir?

Mr. BRIDGES. San Francisco. My business residence, 150 Golden Gate Avenue. San Francisco.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today pursuant to a subpoena which was served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. BRIDGES. Right.

Mr. ARENS. And you **are** represented by counsel?

Mr. BRIDGES. I am.

Mr. ARENS. Counsel, kindly identify yourself.

Mr. ANDERSEN. George R. Andersen, 240 Montgomery Street, San Francisco.

Mr. ARENS. Counsel, would you kindly tell us the law firm with which you are associated?

Mr. ANDERSEN. Gladstein, Andersen, Leonard & Sibbett.

Mr. ARENS. Is Mr. Richard Gladstein the senior member of that firm?

Mr. ANDERSEN. Two of us are.

Mr. ARENS. The reason I asked, we had correspondence with reference to this particular witness.

Mr. ANDERSEN. Mr. Gladstein and I are senior members of the firm.

Mr. ARENS. All right, sir.

Mr. Bridges, were you present a few moments ago when the chairman of this committee read the statement announcing the holding of these hearings? You were here in the hearing chamber, were you not?

Mr. BRIDGES. I heard a statement, yes.

Mr. ARENS. Have you used any name other than the name of Harry Bridges?

Mr. BRIDGES. Have I?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. BRIDGES. Never.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever used the name Harry Dorgan, D-o-r-g-a-n?

Mr. BRIDGES. Just a minute.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. BRIDGES. I would like to ask a question, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. BRIDGES. My understanding, and we tried to find the information before we came here, is that my appearance here is in connection

with passport legislation, and I am just wondering, and I have reasons to inquire what the relevancy of that question is toward passport legislation?

Mr. ARENS. The relevancy of this particular question, sir, is to establish your identity. For the purposes of identification have you ever used the name Harry Dorgan, D-o-r-g-a-n?

Mr. BRIDGES. I have given you my name.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that the witness be ordered and directed to answer the question as to whether or not he has ever used the name Harry Dorgan.

The CHAIRMAN. You are directed to answer the question, Mr. Bridges.

Mr. BRIDGES. Excuse me.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. Counsel, the reason for my discussions with the lawyer, the name Dorgan came up—I am asking you a question without answering at the moment because the purpose of my question—has crept up a couple times in more than 20 years of litigation against me, 5 or more court hearings, and 2 trips to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Now, if answering this question opens up again over 20 years of litigation that has been settled by the courts and waives my immunity to my constitutional rights, I am just wondering if that is the case?

Mr. ARENS. No.

(Representative Johansen entered the room.)

Mr. BRIDGES. Otherwise——

Mr. ARENS. The purpose of this question is not to open up anything that has been decided at all. The purpose of this question is to ascertain your identity.

Would you kindly answer the question now whether or not you have ever used the name Harry Dorgan, D-o-r-g-a-n?

Mr. BRIDGES. No, I am trying to inquire, Mr. Counsel, from you that if I answer this question then do you take the position that I have waived my right to use the fifth amendment on similar questions. Of course, this is only one question of thousands that can be answered or asked along the same line.

Mr. ARENS. We would have to wait and see how the record developed. We could not commit ourselves on any succeeding questions.

Would you kindly answer the question: Have you ever used the name Harry Dorgan, D-o-r-g-a-n?

Mr. BRIDGES. In view of that question I want to confer.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. BRIDGES. No, I refuse to answer on the basis of my right under the Constitution.

Mr. ARENS. Which constitutional provision are you invoking?

Mr. BRIDGES. Primarily the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Do you honestly apprehend, sir, if you told this committee now truthfully, while you are under oath whether or not you have ever used the name Harry Dorgan, D-o-r-g-a-n, you would be supplying information which might be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. BRIDGES. It seems to me that is a legal question. I really believe that one of the purposes of the question could lead to a series of other questions and open up a lot of litigation against me which could possibly endanger me.

Mr. ARENS. So the record may now be clear, I shall read to you, sir, testimony given under oath before the Joint Legislative Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities in the State of Washington by a lady by the name of Agnes Bridges.

Q. I will ask you, Mrs. Bridges, did you ever see a Communist Party membership book of Harry Bridges?—A. Yes, many a time.

Q. You have seen his membership book many times?—A. Yes.

Q. Have you ever had this membership book in your hands?—A. Quite often.

Q. Quite often. Will you describe this membership book for us?—A. Well, I would say it was just large enough to put in a good-sized envelope.

Q. Large enough to put in an envelope?—A. Yes.

Q. And does it open up?—A. Yes.

Q. Well, supposing you go on and describe it for us?—A. Well, I would say it was about that long (illustrating), and quite narrow, and about that wide.

Q. Did it have any stamps in it?—A. It did, yes. It had a design—

Q. It had stamps. What's that?—A. Kind of a little design on the stamp.

Q. A little design in the center of each stamp?—A. Yes.

Q. Was that design the hammer and the sickle?—A. Yes.

Q. It was the—and this membership book had stamps in it, and each stamp had the sign of the hammer and the sickle?—A. Yes.

Q. Now what name was inscribed on this membership book?—A. Harry Dorgan. That was his mother's maiden name.

Q. Harry Dorgan?—A. Yes.

Q. And Dorgan was his mother's maiden name?—A. Yes.

Q. Is that correct?—A. That's what he told me.

Q. Did you ever have a conversation about him using this name "Dorgan"?—A. Yes, I did. I told him he ought to be ashamed of himself for putting his mother's maiden—maiden name on the Party book.

Q. You told him he ought to be ashamed of himself for putting his mother's maiden name on a Communist Party book?—A. Yes.

Q. Is that right? And what did he reply?—A. He said, "What difference does it make, they will never find out."

Q. "What difference does it make, they will never find out"?—A. Yes.

Q. Now, I will ask you, did Harry Bridges carry this Communist Party book with him?—A. Oh, no.

Q. He wouldn't carry it?—A. No.

Q. Where in the house did he keep it?—A. Well, sometimes we hid it underneath the linoleum in the bathroom.

Was the testimony which I have just read to you a recitation of the facts with respect to your use of the name Harry Dorgan or is that testimony in error?

Mr. BRIDGES. I don't know. That testimony was before a legislative committee. The same questions were asked before a court of justice where you could face your accuser and cross-examine, and that was one of my ex-wives. She was never produced in a court of justice.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly answer the question, was that testimony true or was it in error?

Mr. BRIDGES. And eventually later on she repudiated that testimony.

Mr. ARENS. Was that testimony true or was it in error?

Mr. BRIDGES. Excuse me just a moment.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. BRIDGES. The testimony was later on repudiated by the woman that made it. Now that—

Mr. ARENS. Was that testimony true or was that testimony in error that you used the name Harry Dorgan in a Communist Party book?

Mr. BRIDGES. I am telling you that the woman eventually repudiated the testimony and said it wasn't true.

The CHAIRMAN. That is not the question, Mr. Bridges. The question is, was this testimony correct?

Mr. BRIDGES. I am giving you an answer.

The CHAIRMAN. Whether she repudiated it or not is immaterial. The question is, Was it true?

Mr. BRIDGES. It was found to be untrue later on by the courts.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. ARENS. Do you here and now deny that you used the name Harry Dorgan in a Communist Party book?

Mr. BRIDGES. I would sooner stand on the court record and the court decisions.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest the witness now be ordered and directed to answer the last outstanding principal question.

The CHAIRMAN. You are directed to answer the question.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. BRIDGES. I have already answered that on the fifth—if I have used the name. I think I have already answered that and took the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. When and where were you born?

Mr. BRIDGES. Melbourne, Australia, July 28, 1901.

Mr. ARENS. What was your occupation before coming to the United States?

Mr. BRIDGES. Seaman; merchant seaman.

Mr. ARENS. When did you come to the United States?

Mr. BRIDGES. April 1920.

Mr. ARENS. Did you come on an immigration visa?

Mr. BRIDGES. No. I came as a seaman.

Mr. ARENS. Were you admitted at that time in 1920 for lawful permanent residence?

Mr. BRIDGES. Yes; as far as I know.

Mr. ARENS. Are you a citizen of the United States?

Mr. BRIDGES. I am.

Mr. ARENS. When and where were you naturalized?

Mr. BRIDGES. San Francisco in 1945.

Mr. ARENS. Give us, if you please, sir, just the principal employments you have had since you came to the United States.

Mr. BRIDGES. In 1922 I was a merchant seaman. From 1922 to 1934 I was a longshoreman on the docks of San Francisco. Since the latter part of 1934 I have been a trade union official and still am.

Mr. ARENS. During what period of time were you employed by the U.S. Government?

Mr. BRIDGES. That was a short period during 1922. I was a quartermaster in the Coast and Geodetic Survey.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you been president of the ILWU?

Mr. BRIDGES. Since it was formed in 1937.

Mr. ARENS. I lay before you now a photostatic reproduction of a passport application filed with the Secretary of State bearing the signature of Harry Renton Bridges.

Would you kindly look at that passport application and tell this committee while you are under oath whether or not that is a true and

correct reproduction of a passport application filed by yourself with the Secretary of State?

(A document was handed to the witness.)

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. BRIDGES. It is.

(Document marked "Bridges Exhibit No. 1", and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. First of all, you will observe on the first page under the listing, "mother's name, Julia Dorgan Bridges," is that correct?

Mr. BRIDGES. Right.

Mr. ARENS. Was that your mother's name?

Mr. BRIDGES. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Now you will observe on the second page of the passport application under your picture there are two questions: Question 1 is: "Are you now a member of the Communist Party?" And in parentheses, answer "yes" or "no." Question 2 is: "Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?" And in parentheses, answer "yes" or "no." And thereafter appears this, "If ever a member, state period of membership from — to —."

In this passport application which I displayed to you the answers are omitted to those two questions. Is that not correct?

Mr. BRIDGES. Right.

Mr. ARENS. What was the date of the filing of this passport? Could you tell us that please, sir? That was in July 1958, was it not, July 16?

Mr. BRIDGES. I think it was.

Mr. ARENS. On July 16, 1958, the day that you filed this passport application were you a person who had ever been a member of the Communist Party?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. BRIDGES. It was my understanding at the time in view of the court decisions I did not have to answer the questions for two or three reasons: One, the matter of principle; one, because I didn't again want to afford any opportunities for the record, what has been happening, of another 20 or more years of litigation, and because the issue had been settled personally and officially as far as I was concerned by the courts. So I did not answer the question.

Mr. ARENS. Now would you kindly answer the question outstanding on this record?

Mr. BRIDGES. And I don't intend to answer them now.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest the witness now be ordered and directed to answer the last outstanding principle question on this record; namely, as of the date of his filing the passport application, July 16, 1958, was he a person who had ever been a member of the Communist Party.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. Chairman, before—

The CHAIRMAN. Just a moment. First I would like to ask you this question: Did you refrain or decline to answer that question because of what you felt the law was as enunciated by recent decisions of the court?

Mr. BRIDGES. One reason, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. BRIDGES. One reason meaning that I was within my rights specifically in this case to decline to answer the question. In other words, it wasn't a condition of getting a passport as—well, as I had over 20 years of litigation where the courts had found despite many, many charges and accusations, you see, to the contrary, and I had never taken the fifth amendment. I took the fifth amendment here today for the first time in my life. If I had taken it over 20 years ago, I would have saved my union a lot of money and expense, and I would have saved myself a lot of trouble. And I know why, because there has been more than one attempt to frame me on the same issue, and now I am getting older I am getting wiser.

The CHAIRMAN. I assure you there will be no attempt to frame you here. Actually we are interested in the advisability of reporting legislation. I think your statement a moment ago that you declined to answer the question because of the court decisions would indicate of itself the need for legislation.

But you are directed to answer this question, Mr. Bridges.

Mr. BRIDGES. Well, for the second time I must decline to answer, and I seek the protection of the fifth amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. You are not under any compulsion. You say, "I must decline." You are not under any compulsion whatsoever. If you want to help the Congress and the country, you will not decline to answer.

Mr. BRIDGES. I would like to help the Congress, and I would like to help the country. I just think there might be better ways of doing it than this, in my opinion, Mr. Chairman.

I am declining to answer, because I have been through over 20 years of litigation, two trips to the U.S. Supreme Court, five or six other hearings where these charges, these same questions were asked. Witnesses were introduced. In most cases they were found to be liars, perjurers, and stool pigeons. If I answer the question here now, I think the committee will get busy and start a new round of litigation.

Mr. ARENS. Do you honestly apprehend, sir, if you answered the last outstanding principal question, you would be supplying information which might be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mr. BRIDGES. And I think the committee could go to work to start seeking some ways of bringing criminal procedures, yes.

Mr. ARENS. Now, Mr. Bridges, according to the passport application—

Mr. BRIDGES. I think the issue has been settled, Mr. Counsel. I don't know how many times I have to go before the Supreme Court to have the charges of communism allegedly past or present determined. It has been determined as far as I am concerned twice by the U.S. Supreme Court decisions and two or three times by other hearings.

How many times do I have to go through with it?

I think the committee is trying to start another question.

The CHAIRMAN. May I assure you for what it is worth that is not the case at all, Mr. Bridges.

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. Chairman, may I ask you something?

Presently there is a claim pending against me by the U.S. Government for a quarter of a million dollars, an income tax claim, stating that the money that was collected by friends, donated voluntarily by my union membership, was personal income, even though I never got

a penny of that money. Counsel did and other counsel did. But the U.S. Government has filed a claim against me asking me to pay a quarter of a million dollars in income taxes on this so-called personal income. That is still in the cards.

Now the idea is that if I am forced to defend myself further in some costly litigation I have to come up with the money, and I have no money.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Bridges, I have great confidence in our courts and in our laws, and if you do not owe the \$250,000 I am sure you will not be required to pay it.

Mr. BRIDGES. I have confidence in the courts and law, Mr. Chairman, too. I am sorry to say I have more confidence there than here. In the courts of law you can force the witnesses to come in and their statements are not just accepted as they are here. There they can be cross-examined and exposed as liars and if they are liars—

The CHAIRMAN. If they do not answer questions they are committed for contempt. That is something we cannot do, you see.

Mr. ARENS. Was a passport issued pursuant to the application which you filed?

Mr. BRIDGES. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. May I ask Mr. Arens a question?

Do you mean the passport was issued without the applicant answering the two questions you have just read?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Now, on the passport application you list among other things, the countries which you expect or hope to visit: "England, France, Italy, Holland, Israel, Egypt, U.S.S.R., and India."

May I inquire at this point, please, sir, when did you start making your plans for this proposed trip, which you announced to the State Department when you filed your application in July of 1958?

Mr. BRIDGES. A couple of years before that.

Mr. ARENS. Had you had correspondence with people in the countries to be visited respecting your itinerary and your conferences and the like that you proposed to have?

Mr. BRIDGES. Yes, to some extent at least.

Mr. ARENS. And did you have with you when you left on the trip any letter of introduction?

Mr. BRIDGES. I did.

Mr. ARENS. Did you have any letter of introduction from Mr. Hoffa?

Mr. BRIDGES. No; if I wanted one, I would have asked for one. If I would have asked, I would have got it.

Mr. ARENS. Now the original plan according to the application was to leave on August 15. The actual date of departure, however, was a little later, was it not?

Mr. BRIDGES. It was.

Mr. ARENS. What occasioned the delay? Could you tell us in passing?

Mr. BRIDGES. I got married. I had a little trouble getting married. I went to the State of Nevada, and I found there were laws up there preventing me from marrying anybody but a white person. So we finally got married and took care of that and the law has since been repealed.

Mr. ARENS. Who——

Mr. BRIDGES. I married an American girl.

Mr. ARENS. Who accompanied you on this trip?

Mr. BRIDGES. To Nevada? My wife.

Mr. ARENS. No; the trip to Europe.

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. William Glazier.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly identify him for us?

Mr. BRIDGES. He is executive assistant to the officers of the ILWU.

Mr. ARENS. Was your travel abroad approved by the ILWU?

Mr. BRIDGES. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Did you go upon resolution passed by the ILWU, authorizing and directing you to go?

Mr. BRIDGES. I don't know.

Mr. ARENS. Did ILWU agree to reimburse you for your expenses?

Mr. BRIDGES. Yes. Let me tell you. I went there after making—it was a part of a whole plan of ours. The purposes of the trip and the fact that I was going had been reported to most of our union meetings, to membership meetings, and in that sense it was approved by the membership directly. As to the technical aspect of what motions were made and what resolutions were passed, they would be in the record somewhere. I don't know.

Mr. ARENS. On the purpose of your trip on your passport application you recite travel, recreation, and study of longshoring methods and collective bargaining?

Mr. BRIDGES. Right.

Mr. ARENS. Were there any other purposes which you had for the trip?

Mr. BRIDGES. No.

Mr. ARENS. Did you have any purposes before you left to engage in conferences for stated objectives?

Mr. BRIDGES. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. You did not recite those conferences or any stated objectives in your passport application, however, is that correct?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. BRIDGES. I recited enough to get a passport. But if I had been asked I would have had no objection.

Mr. ARENS. In December of 1958, did the ILWU propose a conference of longshore unions in the Pacific area and in Asia, a conference to be described as the "Pacific-Asia Dock Conference"?

Mr. BRIDGES. It did in conjunction with some other unions in other countries; yes.

Mr. ARENS. Where was that conference to be held?

Mr. BRIDGES. Tokyo.

Mr. ARENS. When?

Mr. BRIDGES. I think it begins May 11.

Mr. ARENS. Did you discuss this conference with any individuals or groups or entities not affiliated with American trade unions?

Mr. BRIDGES. What would that question mean? You tell me what you mean by American trade union? I think I know what you mean. But before I can answer that one give me an idea of what you mean?

Mr. ARENS. To whom did you extend the invitations to participate in this Pacific-Asia Dock Conference?

Mr. BRIDGES. To whom in what?

Mr. ARENS. Yes. What groups.

Mr. BRIDGES. In other countries?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. BRIDGES. Our union was a part of a sponsoring committee of four or five unions in various countries. One was Indonesia. One was Japan. There was ours representing the Pacific coast of the Americas and a couple of others. I am a member of the sponsoring committee. I think one was India, Bombay Dock Workers. That is four.

Mr. ARENS. Did you extend an invitation to the All-Japan Dock Workers?

Mr. BRIDGES. They were part of the sponsoring group.

Mr. ARENS. Was part of the sponsoring group the Waterside Workers Federation of Australia?

Mr. BRIDGES. That is right. That is the other one.

Mr. ARENS. Is Madras Harbour Workers Union of India part of this group?

Mr. BRIDGES. Yes, it is.

Mr. ARENS. Is the Waterside Workers and Seafarers Union of Indonesia part of this group?

Mr. BRIDGES. It is.

Mr. ARENS. Did you extend any invitations to unions located in the Philippines for this Pacific-Asia Dock Conference?

Mr. BRIDGES. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. What group there?

Mr. BRIDGES. I forget the exact title, the dockworkers group there.

Mr. ARENS. Did they accept?

Mr. BRIDGES. I don't know as yet.

Mr. ARENS. Did you extend any invitation to dockworkers in Formosa?

Mr. BRIDGES. I don't know. Let me explain why. Out of the five sponsoring unions, each sponsoring union was responsible for extending invitations to unions in certain areas. For example, the ILWU, we took the responsibility of communicating with dockworkers unions in Central and South America and Canada. Those communications were sent out. Now whether the Formosa union was invited or other unions in that area that would be, for example, the responsibility of the Japanese dockworkers. So as to whom they communicated with at this stage of the game, I can't say for sure. I would assume that they had extended an invitation to the dockers of Formosa. But I can't say for sure.

To put it another way, there wasn't supposed to be any discrimination. All unions of all kinds were to be invited if they were dockworkers' unions from all countries.

Mr. ARENS. Were any of the unions invited affiliated with International Confederation of Free Trade Unions?

Mr. BRIDGES. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Have any of them accepted an invitation?

Mr. BRIDGES. The Indonesian union is one that is a sponsoring union.

Mr. ARENS. Has it accepted an invitation or is it going to sponsor the all-Japanese—

Mr. BRIDGES. It has sponsored, yes.

Mr. ARENS. Conference.

Mr. BRIDGES. I think one of the Australian unions—I can't say for sure.

Mr. ARENS. Kindly tell us what press coverage did you arrange prior to the time of your departure?

Mr. BRIDGES. Press coverage where?

Mr. ARENS. What press coverage did you arrange for your trip?

Mr. BRIDGES. None.

Mr. ARENS. Do you write a column called "On the Beam" in the paper published by ILWU?

Mr. BRIDGES. I do.

Mr. ARENS. Did you contemplate that as you made your trip from country to country you would be sending back for publication ILWU press reports respecting your trip?

Mr. BRIDGES. No.

Mr. ARENS. Did you do so?

Mr. BRIDGES. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. What was the first country that you visited?

Mr. BRIDGES. Great Britain, the United Kingdom.

Mr. ARENS. And did you write or dispatch an article from Great Britain?

Mr. BRIDGES. We wrote an article on Great Britain. Whether we wrote it there or later on in one of the other countries—I think we might have written it originally from Hamburg or Paris.

Mr. ARENS. Did you personally write these columns that you sent back or were they written by a colleague and perhaps submitted for your approval?

Mr. BRIDGES. Let us say they were a joint effort.

Mr. ARENS. A joint effort between you and whom?

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. Glazier. He writes much better than I do.

Mr. ARENS. Did anyone else accompany you on the trip besides Mr. Glazier?

Mr. BRIDGES. No.

Mr. ARENS. Did you discuss the Pacific-Asia Dock Conference with certain persons in Great Britain?

Mr. BRIDGES. I think we did.

Mr. ARENS. And with whom did you discuss it?

Mr. BRIDGES. I don't know. I couldn't say. You asked me specifically what. We might have discussed it with this one. We had hours and hours of discussions; as to whether that particular point came up, this, that, or the other one, I don't know. But the general question, did we discuss it with some people? We were asked about it.

Mr. ARENS. With what groups did you have your discussions in Great Britain?

Mr. BRIDGES. Primarily with the officers of the Transport and General Workers Union of Great Britain.

Mr. ARENS. Did you have any conference with the International Transport Workers' Federation?

Mr. BRIDGES. Yes, that is officers of that federation.

Mr. ARENS. Where were those conferences?

Mr. BRIDGES. Great Britain, Hamburg, Denmark, Belgium, Israel. And you said officers of the federation?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir; within Great Britain.

Mr. BRIDGES. Oh, within Great Britain. What was the question? I lost it.

Mr. ARENS. Where did you have your conferences?

Mr. BRIDGES. I am saying. I had some in Great Britain and some other—

Mr. ARENS. Within the offices of the receptive countries or were they in some other offices?

Mr. BRIDGES. What does that mean, "receptive"?

Mr. ARENS. Were they in the offices of the labor groups with which you were consulting or were they within the offices of some affiliate of an international labor organization?

Mr. BRIDGES. They were in trade union offices. They were in the offices of the union we happened to be talking with.

Mr. ARENS. Did the International Transport Workers' Federation accept an invitation to participate in the Tokyo meeting?

Mr. BRIDGES. I don't know.

Mr. ARENS. Did they express to you that they were not going to accept the invitation to the Tokyo meeting?

Mr. BRIDGES. I think you are mixed up. Now I am talking to people who are affiliated with the ITF and officers of the ITF. And they might be or they would be invited as dockworker unions, let us say, if they were in the Pacific to the conference, as against the ITF itself being invited.

Mr. ARENS. Now let's get the record clear. Did you extend a formal invitation, without equivocation, to the International Transport Workers' Federation in Great Britain to participate in the Pacific dock conference?

Mr. BRIDGES. But it is not in Great Britain.

Mr. ARENS. Did you extend an invitation to the International Transport Workers' Federation to participate in the dock conference in the Pacific?

Mr. BRIDGES. I don't know. That would be on the part of the sponsoring conferences. As far as I know an invitation was probably extended but specifically at the moment I don't know.

Mr. ARENS. While you were in Great Britain did you have any conferences with representatives of the World Federation of Trade Unions?

Mr. BRIDGES. I don't know about that either. Some of those people might have been. There was one man, I forget his name, who could have been a representative of the WFTU. I don't know.

Mr. ARENS. Did you have any conferences with Jock Hastings of the British dockworkers?

Mr. BRIDGES. No. Not that I recall. Now, we met quite a few people and I can't recall their names.

Mr. ARENS. How long were you in Great Britain?

Mr. BRIDGES. About a week.

Mr. ARENS. Then your next stop was in France, is that correct?

Mr. BRIDGES. No.

Mr. ARENS. Where was your next stop.

Mr. BRIDGES. Hamburg.

Mr. ARENS. I would like to discuss with you Hamburg in connection with other areas of your trip.

Mr. BRIDGES. That is quite all right.

Mr. ARENS. How long were you in Hamburg?

Mr. BRIDGES. About 3 or 4 days.

Mr. ARENS. Then you went to France?

Mr. BRIDGES. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. How long were you in France, roughly speaking?

Mr. BRIDGES. I have a copy of my itinerary instead of me depending on memory.

Mr. ARENS. Were you there as much as a week?

Mr. BRIDGES. In France?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. BRIDGES. We weren't there that long.

Mr. ARENS. Did you have a letter of introduction?

Mr. BRIDGES. We asked the officers of the Transport and General Workers Union in Britain to make arrangements for the trade union officers in the other countries where they could, and they very kindly did so. Whether that included France or not—we had correspondence with France already. I think it was with the transport union there, the dockworkers' union there.

Mr. ARENS. Do you recall the name of the individual with whom you had your correspondence in France?

Mr. BRIDGES. At the moment I don't know. I think it was either Mr. —

Mr. ARENS. Was it Frachon?

Mr. BRIDGES. I think it was. At least that was one of them.

Mr. ARENS. Did you, when you got to France, confer with Frachon?

Mr. BRIDGES. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Is his first name Benoit, B-e-n-ó-i-t?

Mr. BRIDGES. Right. I think the way you say it.

Mr. ARENS. Last name, F-r-a-c-h-o-n?

Mr. BRIDGES. I think that is the way you say it.

Mr. ARENS. What is his position?

Mr. BRIDGES. He is either the secretary general of the CGT or the secretary general of the Transport Workers Union of France, which would include the dockworkers.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know that Benoit Frachon was a high-ranking member of the Communist Party of France?

Mr. BRIDGES. No. Well, let me see. I had heard something to that effect. Specifically, no. It wouldn't make any difference to me if I did.

Mr. ARENS. Are you acquainted with the fact that Frachon was arrested within France on charges of fomenting sabotage and conducting subversive propaganda in the French Army?

Mr. BRIDGES. Did I know that?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. BRIDGES. No.

Mr. ARENS. Would it have made any difference to you if you had known it?

Mr. BRIDGES. It all depends. I have been arrested myself.

Mr. ARENS. The CGT in France is the Communist controlled labor organization, is it not?

Mr. BRIDGES. I wouldn't know that. Do I understand, Mr. —

Mr. ARENS. Did Frachon explain to you the economic conditions in France and the political conditions in France?

Mr. BRIDGES. He certainly did his best. We pinned his ears down enough day and night to try and get that information.

Mr. ARENS. Did you get the information from Frachon?

Mr. BRIDGES. We got quite a bit of information from Mr. Frachon.

Mr. ARENS. Do you speak French?

Mr. BRIDGES. No.

Mr. ARENS. Did you have an interpreter?

Mr. BRIDGES. We did.

Mr. ARENS. Do you recall the interpreter's name?

Mr. BRIDGES. I have it somewhere, a very delightful lady.

Mr. ARENS. Was her name Lisa K-o-t-o-m-k-i-n-a?

Mr. BRIDGES. No.

Mr. ARENS. Was the lady who was assigned to you one of the associates of Frachon?

Mr. BRIDGES. I think so. I forget her specific title. I think she was a part of the international department of the CGT.

Mr. ARENS. Did you have conferences with Louis Saillant?

Mr. BRIDGES. I had a conference with Louis Saillant, a brief one in France or Paris. He happened to be there. He resides elsewhere. But I know——

Mr. ARENS. Where does he reside?

Mr. BRIDGES. I don't know.

Mr. ARENS. Who is Louis Saillant?

Mr. BRIDGES. I think he is the secretary of the WFTU. I have known Saillant for years. So if he was in Paris——

Mr. ARENS. Do you know that Louis Saillant is a Soviet espionage agent?

Mr. BRIDGES. No.

Mr. ARENS. Would it have made any difference to you had you known it?

Mr. BRIDGES. It depends on the evidence.

Mr. ARENS. Did you meet up with a lady in France, during your sojourn there, by the name of Lisa Kotomkina, K-o-t-o-m-k-i-n-a?

Mr. BRIDGES. I don't know. I might have. I can't recall the name at the moment, but it is entirely—we met quite a few women.

Mr. ARENS. Did you meet up with the secretary to Louis Saillant, a lady by the name of Lisa Kotomkina?

Mr. BRIDGES. I don't know.

Mr. ARENS. Do you recall, irrespective of her name, whether or not you were in conference with the secretary to Louis Saillant?

Mr. BRIDGES. I was in conference with a woman, who was also, as I understand it, the ranking officer of the Transport Workers Union.

Mr. ARENS. Was she secretary to Louis Saillant?

Mr. BRIDGES. I don't know what her exact title was. She could have been. I don't know.

Mr. ARENS. From whence did Louis Saillant come in order to confer with you in Paris?

Mr. BRIDGES. Just a minute. What was that question?

Mr. ARENS. From whence did Mr. Saillant come for the purpose of conferring with you in Paris?

Mr. BRIDGES. As far as I know he didn't come to confer with me in Paris.

Mr. ARENS. From whence did he come in order to be in Paris?

Mr. BRIDGES. I don't know.

Mr. ARENS. Had he recently arrived in Paris prior to the time that you conferred with him?

Mr. BRIDGES. That is my understanding. He had gotten in that day and left the same day.

Mr. ARENS. From whence did he come?

Mr. BRIDGES. I don't know. I asked to see Saillant. They said he wasn't around. Later on they said, by golly, he was. He was in Paris for that day. And I asked if they could arrange at least a brief session. I wanted to see him and renew old acquaintances.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know Saillant from the past?

Mr. BRIDGES. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. What was the nature of your past acquaintanceship with him?

Mr. BRIDGES. Was a delegate. That is wrong. Yes. Yes, he in 1945 at the time of the founding of WFTU and the United Nations NSF. He was an official delegate to the founding committee.

Mr. ARENS. Did Saillant, during your stay in Paris, invite you to come to Prague?

Mr. BRIDGES. No. We already had Prague on the itinerary.

Mr. ARENS. While you were in France did you meet Andre Fressinet, F-r-e-s-s-i-n-e-t?

Mr. BRIDGES. I think we did. I am not sure. We intended to be-cause Fressinet. I think Fressinet now is—we had a lot correspondence with Fressinet.

Mr. ARENS. When you say "we" who are we?

Mr. BRIDGES. The International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union and myself as one of its officers.

Mr. ARENS. Am I clear that you did have a conference with Fressinet?

Mr. BRIDGES. I am not sure if we did or not.

Mr. ARENS. Did you solicit a conference with Fressinet?

Mr. BRIDGES. I think we did.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know that Fressinet was a top-ranking Communist in France?

Mr. BRIDGES. No; you understand the distinctions here. If you asked me had I heard that, I will say "yes." If you ask me did I know, specifically, I don't.

Mr. ARENS. You were onetime president of the Seamen and Dockers section of WFTU, were you not?

Mr. BRIDGES. Right.

Mr. ARENS. Was Fressinet a leading light of WFTU?

Mr. BRIDGES. At that time?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. BRIDGES. Yes; I think he was.

Mr. ARENS. Was Saillant a leading light of WFTU at that time?

Mr. BRIDGES. Either president or secretary. I think he has the same position now, whichever it is.

Mr. ARENS. Who contacted you respecting your ascendancy to the presidency of the Seamen and Dockers section of WFTU?

Mr. BRIDGES. Contacted?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. BRIDGES. I don't remember that.

Mr. ARENS. You were not present in Europe when you were elected president of the Seamen and Dockers section of WFTU, were you?

Mr. BRIDGES. No; I think I was in jail.

Mr. ARENS. Who notified you that you had been elected president of the WFTU Seamen and Dockers section?

Mr. BRIDGES. I think the secretary of our local of our international union. I can't recall specifically.

Mr. ARENS. With whom had you had correspondence or with whom had you been in communication respecting your ascendancy to the presidency of the Seamen and Dockers section of WFTU?

Mr. BRIDGES. I don't think there was any correspondence on it.

Mr. ARENS. Did it just strike you as a bolt out of the blue that you were notified that you were the new president of the Seamen and Dockers section of WFTU?

Mr. BRIDGES. I don't know if I would put it that way. There was a conference, and I was elected. I wasn't present, but I was elected.

Mr. ARENS. Was ILWU ever affiliated with WFTU?

Mr. BRIDGES. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Did it withdraw?

Mr. BRIDGES. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. When did it withdraw?

Mr. BRIDGES. Shortly after the outbreak of the Korean war.

Mr. ARENS. Did you resign as president of the Seamen and Dockers section?

Mr. BRIDGES. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. And did you do that at the instigation of the local of ILWU?

Mr. BRIDGES. I did it at the instigation of our membership.

Mr. ARENS. When did you resign as president of the Seamen and Dockers International?

Mr. BRIDGES. I forget. I don't know.

Mr. ARENS. Was it prior to 1952?

Mr. BRIDGES. It could be. I am not sure. I think it was.

Mr. ARENS. Did you, after you resigned as president of the Seamen and Dockers International of WFTU, continue your affiliation as an individual with WFTU?

Mr. BRIDGES. No.

Mr. ARENS. Did you write articles for WFTU publications after you were obliged to resign as president of the Seamen and Dockers section of WFTU?

Mr. BRIDGES. I think I did, one or two.

Mr. ARENS. I display to you now, if you please, sir, a photostatic reproduction of the November 16-30, 1952, issue of the "Fortnightly Review," a publication of WFTU, in which appears among other things an article by Harry Bridges, entitled, the "Voice of America and the Forked Tongue."

Mr. BRIDGES. I wrote that, a little long but—

Mr. ARENS. Who solicited you to write this?

Mr. BRIDGES. Nobody. My own idea. All by myself.

Mr. ARENS. You sent it in to WFTU?

Mr. BRIDGES. I sent it everywhere I could get it printed. I had a purpose in mind.

(Document marked "Bridges Exhibit No. 2," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Were you cognizant of the fact that WFTU was controlled by the international Communist conspiracy?

Mr. BRIDGES. They are your words. I was cognizant of the fact that they were organizations of workers all over the world and I was looking for workers' help, wasn't getting much anywhere else.

Mr. ARENS. Did you in court admit that the WFTU is controlled and dominated by Communists?

Mr. BRIDGES. Not that I remember.

Mr. ARENS. I should like to read to you an excerpt from an opinion given by District Judge Harris in the case of *United States v. Bridges*, decided in the District Court, the Northern District of California, August 7, 1950.

Mr. BRIDGES. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. In the course of the opinion District Judge Harris, the Federal judge, recites the following:

Of equal significance was his—
and I interpolate "Bridges"—

refusal to disavow affiliation in and with the World Federation of Trade Unions, an international organization which he admits—and yesterday admitted in consequence of my questions—is controlled and dominated by Communists.

Did you in the course of the proceedings recited here by Judge Harris admit that the World Federation of Trade Unions is controlled and dominated by Communists?

Mr. BRIDGES. Isn't there a record of those proceedings, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest the witness now be ordered to answer that question.

Mr. BRIDGES. I am not going to depend on my memory against the court record. If it is in the court record I said it. I am not going to try to remember it now. It is not in that record. You are quoting from what the judge said. I am not going to go by the judge's conclusions which were eventually dumped by the High Court. I would sooner go by what is in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. Did the judge correctly state the facts?

Mr. BRIDGES. I can't recall specifically. I wouldn't trust that judge to state any facts, Your Honor. I am sorry but that is my opinion about that judge. All I am saying is I was under oath in that court of law. When the judge asked me questions I wasn't backward about answering them. And my answers at that time which were many, many years ago taken down by a court reporter, are better than my memory now. Never mind the judge's conclusion. They were dumped.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course the record shows you admitted just exactly what the judge said.

Mr. BRIDGES. Suppose the record said it?

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. BRIDGES. Then I said it, Your Honor. I said it.

Mr. ARENS. What was the next country you visited?

Mr. BRIDGES. After what?

Mr. ARENS. After France.

Mr. BRIDGES. After France?

Mr. ARENS. Will you excuse me while I ask one more question with reference to France?

While you were in France did you extend any invitations to any of the groups or organizations there to attend the Pacific-Asia Dock Conference which is scheduled next month in Tokyo?

Mr. BRIDGES. I don't think we did.

Mr. ARENS. Did you discuss that subject matter with them?

Mr. BRIDGES. Yes. Understand, again, let me remind you, invitations were being extended by the official sponsoring committee. There was no need for me to extend invitations in addition. But I extended invitations to every single trade union leader we spoke to in France, Great Britain, elsewhere, to come to the United States and attend our recent convention. Some of them said they would try to make it. It was a matter of money with them. Time was short, et cetera, et cetera, et cetera, and thanks, I guess in part to this committee every one of them were well aware that trying to visit trade unions in America is a very difficult thing.

Mr. ARENS. Who met you at the airport when you arrived in Rome from France?

Mr. BRIDGES. Before we left France, Mr. Counsel, to get the record straight here. Now, in addition to visiting the CGT leaders in France, we visited the leaders of the ICFTU. And we visited the leaders of the Catholic trade unions there. We just didn't confine—we tried to do the same in every country we were in. We talked to everybody. I don't want you to try to give the impression here we just talked to certain ones. We talked to them all.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly tell us who met you at the airport when you arrived in Rome?

Mr. BRIDGES. Let me see. Mr. Santi was one.

Mr. ARENS. Is that Fernando Santi?

Mr. BRIDGES. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Who is he, please, sir?

Mr. BRIDGES. He was cochairman, I think, of the CGIL (Italian General Confederation of Labor) of France. I mean of Italy. Pardon me.

Mr. ARENS. Who else met you?

Mr. BRIDGES. There was a couple of other people. One was an interpreter.

Mr. ARENS. Was Agostino Novella there?

Mr. BRIDGES. I met him later. He didn't meet us at the airport. There was two other officers there, and I have their names in the record we mentioned them.

Mr. ARENS. Did you have a conference with Agostino Novella?

Mr. BRIDGES. Later on, yes.

Mr. ARENS. Where and when did you have your conference with Agostino Novella?

Mr. BRIDGES. I think it was in the headquarters of either the CGIL or the Transport Workers Union.

Mr. ARENS. The CGIL is the Communist controlled trade union in Italy; is it not?

Mr. BRIDGES. I don't know. I want more proof than your word.

Mr. ARENS. Is Agostino Novella a Communist?

Mr. BRIDGES. I don't know that either. I think he is now. Let me explain my answers. You know it is one thing in this country where it is kind of the thing you don't do, going around asking people,

are you a Socialist, Communist, or Republican either. It is different over there. You don't get a chance to ask. Generally the first thing people tell you, "I am a Socialist, I am a Socialist Democrat." "I am a Communist." And that is the way it works.

Mr. ARENS. Was Agostino Novella elected chairman of the WFTU while you were in Europe?

Mr. BRIDGES. I don't remember that if he was.

Mr. ARENS. Is he now chairman of the WFTU?

Mr. BRIDGES. I think he is or he is one of them, at least.

Mr. ARENS. Did you discuss with Agostino Novella the forthcoming Pacific-Asia Dock Conference to be held in Tokyo?

Mr. BRIDGES. I am not sure. I could have and I couldn't have. Discussions in this case could be around the fact that there was a conference going to be held, conferences already scheduled way, way a long time before we went to Europe. And it is confined to unions on the Pacific base. In other words, it is not the idea of inviting unions on the Atlantic side to the Tokyo conference.

Mr. ARENS. Did you have a conference while you were in Italy with Luigi Longo, L-u-i-g-i L-o-n-g-o?

Mr. BRIDGES. I think so. I think he was one of the officers we met.

Mr. ARENS. He is one of the leaders of the Italian Communist Party; is he not?

Mr. BRIDGES. I don't know.

Mr. ARENS. Was he former political commissar of the International Brigades in Spain?

Mr. BRIDGES. I don't know. I am not even saying I had a conference with him. I said the name seems familiar. I might have and I might not. We met many, many people. I don't want to say I didn't. I might have met him.

Mr. ARENS. While in Italy did you give any press interviews to the general press stationed in Italy?

Mr. BRIDGES. We never gave a press interview all the time we were overseas; none.

Mr. ARENS. Did you give an interview while you were in Italy to the press, to a paper *Lavoro*?

Mr. BRIDGES. What does it mean?

Mr. ARENS. L-a-v-o-r-o.

Mr. BRIDGES. What does it mean?

Mr. ARENS. *Lavoro*.

Mr. SCHERER. It is the name of a weekly newspaper.

Mr. BRIDGES. Here is the reason I am asking the question.

Mr. ARENS. Did you give an interview to the editor involved?

Mr. BRIDGES. You used the word "interview." There was a couple of gentlemen there. I think they were public-relations men or press men connected with the Transport Workers Union. In that sense we had, I guess you could call it an interview. I am drawing the distinction now. We didn't talk to the public press anywhere; no press statements at all; no public statements.

Mr. ARENS. But you did give an interview or did you have press conferences with representatives of *Lavoro*? That paper is the organ of the CGIL, is it not?

Mr. BRIDGES. That is different now. In Rome we had a conference or we gave an interview to the representatives of the trade union paper there. If that is *Lavoro*, I guess that is the paper.

MR. ARENS. Did you in your interview with the editors of *Lavoro* tell them that your union, ILWU was expelled from the CIO on an accusation that it was Communist controlled but that the accusation was without foundation?

May I read you a translation of one excerpt from this interview which you gave to the editors of *Lavoro*, the paper of the CGIL in Rome with reference to the ousting of ILWU from the CIO?

MR. BRIDGES. Read it. Let's see how it sounds.

MR. ARENS. With respect to ILWU expulsion from CIO were you quoted correctly by this Communist organ?

MR. BRIDGES. What was that again?

MR. ARENS. Were you quoted correctly? I am going to read it to you.

It is not a matter of motives but of pretexts. We of the East Coast were ousted because of "Communism." It is an accusation which has no foundation, unless the fight for the peace and international unity of the workers is a "Communist" fight.

Did you make those statements to the editors of *Lavoro* for publication in Rome?

MR. BRIDGES. I can't specifically recall the words but it sure sounds like me.

(Document marked "Bridges Exhibit No. 3," and retained in committee files.)

MR. ARENS. Now, Mr. Bridges, I have in my hand the official reports of the CIO, 1950, on the expulsion of Communist-dominated organizations.

MR. BRIDGES. You mean the frameup because we wouldn't line up support for Truman, don't you?

MR. ARENS. I should like to invite your attention, first of all to this finding of the CIO.

MR. BRIDGES. CIO what?

MR. ARENS. Official CIO.

MR. BRIDGES. Thanks.

MR. ARENS. Beginning on page 106 of the findings of the executive board of the CIO, established to look into Communist-dominated organizations, we find the following with reference to ILWU:

At no time during that 12-year period has there been one single instance of ILWU's deviating in any appreciable degree from the line of the Communist Party.

At the time you told the editors of *Lavoro* that the accusation of Communist domination of ILWU by the Communist Party was without foundation were you aware of this finding by the CIO?

MR. BRIDGES. Can I see it?

MR. ARENS. Yes, sir.

(Document handed.)

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

MR. BRIDGES. I see the statement, at least those two or three lines. Just one statement in many pages.

MR. ARENS. At the time that you made the statement in Rome to the editors of *Lavoro* for publication, were you aware of the findings

of the CIO after their investigation appearing on page 111 of this report as follows:

The documentary evidence of subservience of ILWU, through its top leadership, to the Communist Party was corroborated by the oral testimony of Mr. Quill and Mr. Stone, both of whom gave testimony showing direct Communist control of ILWU. Both testified that Harry Bridges had, over a period of years, participated in numerous secret meetings between Communist Party functionaries and officers of Communist-controlled unions in the CIO, at which the party functionaries instructed the union officers as to the party line and as to the positions that they were to take in the CIO and in their unions.

(Document marked "Bridges Exhibit No. 4," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. BRIDGES. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Were you aware of that?

Mr. BRIDGES. That was very funny, Stone and Quill testifying they had been in such secret Communist meetings and they weren't Communists, the meetings that I was supposed to be at. I was there—and I wasn't there, and they testified—

Mr. ARENS. Did you participate in meetings with Eugene Dennis while you were head of the ILWU?

Mr. BRIDGES. As far as I can recall, no.

Mr. ARENS. Did you participate in meetings with William Z. Foster?

Mr. BRIDGES. Just a minute. Excuse me.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. BRIDGES. A little entrapment, I am afraid.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. BRIDGES. What was the question? With Mr. Foster?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. BRIDGES. What was it? What was the question?

Mr. ARENS. Did you participate in meetings with William Z. Foster while you were head of ILWU?

Mr. BRIDGES. I have had meetings with Mr. Foster.

Mr. ARENS. Where?

Mr. BRIDGES. In New York somewhere. I forget.

Mr. ARENS. Were you ever in meetings with William Z. Foster at the Communist Party headquarters?

Mr. BRIDGES. No.

Mr. ARENS. Have you met with Roy Hudson?

Mr. BRIDGES. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Who is Roy Hudson?

Mr. BRIDGES. I forget.

Mr. ARENS. Is he a top functionary of the Communist Party?

Mr. BRIDGES. I have known Hudson since he was a seaman. I have known him back on the west coast years ago.

Mr. SCHERER. Wait a minute. He didn't answer the question.

Mr. BRIDGES. What?

Mr. SCHERER. Whether he knew Hudson was a high functionary of the Communist Party.

Mr. BRIDGES. Yes. The answer is "Yes."

Mr. ARENS. Jack Stachel?

Mr. BRIDGES. Stachel. I know Stachel. I can't exactly recall the circumstances.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know him as being a high functionary of the Communist Party?

Mr. BRIDGES. Yes. May I—look, let me tell you something.

Mr. ARENS. Just a moment, please.

Mr. BRIDGES. Just a moment.

Mr. ARENS. Did you conceal these meetings from the membership of the ILWU?

Mr. BRIDGES. Any time I met with anyone I never concealed it from my membership, if I met Stachel or Foster or Hudson, my point, I was just going to make. All these questions have been asked of me and answered dozens of times under oath before court proceedings. I have answered them dozens and dozens of times going back 25 years.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Bridges, you probably do not realize that this committee may feel unanimously that there ought to be legislation in the field of passports, but without a record to support our conclusions it would be difficult to convince the majority of the Members of the House.

Mr. BRIDGES. What has this got to do with me, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. You are assisting us in making the kind of a record that will cause us to either recommend the enactment or not recommend enactment of legislation.

Mr. BRIDGES. That is what I am afraid of. I am assisting you very much against my will covering a lot of ground that has been covered over a period of months and months in courts where I had a fighting chance. Here I haven't got a—

The CHAIRMAN. I don't know why you say that, "Here I haven't got a chance." We are not doing anything at all except developing facts for the purpose of legislating. That is all.

Mr. BRIDGES. And that is just my point, Mr. Chairman. You want facts. Now, what are you doing here?

The CHAIRMAN. All you have to do is answer the questions.

Mr. BRIDGES. And I am answering the questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Then the facts are adduced.

Mr. BRIDGES. I am answering the questions by telling you the court records have all these questions answered many, many years ago that is better evidence or you get better answers than my answers here.

The CHAIRMAN. The court records cannot be made a part of the record that we submit.

Mr. BRIDGES. You have investigators. Instead of depending on my memory where you will come along at sometime and I might make a mistake just out of memory.

The CHAIRMAN. No, we are only asking you.

Mr. BRIDGES. You claim that I was lying.

The CHAIRMAN. Only asking you the best of your recollection, that is all.

Mr. BRIDGES. I don't want to get into going in that business of best of my recollection. I didn't even want to take the fifth amendment. For the first time in over 25 years of these kind of proceedings I took the fifth amendment today. I would have been better off if I kept my yap shut then.

Mr. JACKSON. May I make an observation to put this thing in proper context?

I don't believe the cases having to do with the witness in which he refers to 20 years of litigation had as their objective recommendations to the House of Representatives on passport use and misuse which is the function of this committee.

I think we can delineate the purpose in this fashion.

- (1) Is a given witness a member of the Communist Party?
- (2) If he is, did the witness obtain under recent decisions of the Supreme Court a passport for travel abroad?
- (3) If he did obtain a passport in that manner what countries did he visit?
- (4) Did the itinerary followed by the witness deviate in any respect from the itinerary as furnished on the passport application?
- (5) If it did so vary, in what instances did it so vary and for what purposes if it is possible to obtain that information from the witness?
- (6) With what Communist organizations, groups, and individuals did the witness confer during his travel abroad? And
- (7) Were the statements of the witness as reported from abroad detrimental to the national interest of the United States or intended to weaken the international position of the United States and its allies?

Now, it would seem to me that succinctly that is the purpose of the hearing. It has no other purpose. I think that in the chairman's opening statement that was made perfectly clear.

All the committee is attempting to determine in this instance is, whether or not the witness is or was at the time of making application for his passport, a member of the Communist Party, and I should like to direct that because that is fundamental to this inquiry if we are to determine whether or not there has been misuse of the passport. I should like to direct a question to the witness at this time very specifically.

Mr. BRIDGES. May I ask a question first?

Mr. JACKSON. Just a moment, Mr. Witness.

Mr. BRIDGES. I am not objecting if you ask me questions on my trip. I am merely saying did you ask me "Did you see Jack Stachel?" Let me think about 25 years ago or 20 years ago and that depends on my memory. And I am telling you you have got court reports where I answered the question 20 years ago under oath and that is a better answer than I can think of now.

Mr. JACKSON. I am not going to ask you a question that isn't simple for you to answer. It doesn't require any great amount of recollection on your part.

Have you ever been, Mr. Bridges, a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BRIDGES. Do you understand—Is it Mr. Jackson?

Mr. JACKSON. Jackson.

Mr. BRIDGES. Do you understand that I have been through the courts over 20 years?

Mr. JACKSON. Yes; I understand that.

Mr. BRIDGES. You understand I have had five decisions in my favor on that question, don't you? You understand that I just for the first time have taken, refused to answer that question under the privilege of the fifth amendment, not because I am guilty, but because I

am in a better position probably than anybody else to answer that question and say no. I am in a better position because I have got court decisions saying that I am not. But so many people get dragged in here and smeared and slandered and the courts have said that about this committee, who are not in the same position to fight as I am, innocent people that have been destroyed. I am not going to help this committee in that sense.

This committee has done such a job saying that the people ipso facto that take the fifth amendment are guilty people. And it is not true. I can answer that. I have answered that question dozens of times under oath before a court of law. Here I take the fifth amendment.

Mr. JACKSON. In other words, you decline to answer that question, the question I have just posed?

Mr. BRIDGES. Under the fifth amendment and for the reasons I stated; yes.

Mr. JACKSON. As of the time——

Mr. BRIDGES. I am not going to start another 20 years of litigation.

Mr. JACKSON. Let it be clearly on the record that this is a legislative purpose and, first of all, we should like to determine with your help, and you say you can say no, you have never been a member of the Communist Party. If that is the case, then it would be quite unlikely that we would have any great reason to inquire further. However, failing to do that, it still, it seems to me, is the duty of the committee to pursue it in light of your declination to answer that question. This has a legislative purpose, not a court purpose. It does not go to the point of the charges which are leveled against you which were decided in the lower courts and subsequently reversed in the Supreme Court.

Mr. BRIDGES. You explain to me the difference.

Mr. JACKSON. Yes, indeed.

Mr. BRIDGES. What is it?

Mr. JACKSON. We are trying to determine whether or not there has been misuse of passports issued by the Department of State to members of the Communist Party. This is what we are attempting to determine. The sole purpose of this series of hearings is to make that determination and to make such recommendations as may flow from the testimony to the House of Representatives.

Mr. BRIDGES. I thought, Mr. Jackson, that in the correspondence we had with the committee, by my appearance here, you wanted to ask me questions about the people I saw, the trip, what we discussed, so that you could make a determination as to whether my trip overseas was detrimental to the United States. I thought that was the purpose.

Mr. JACKSON. I don't know about your exchange of correspondence. I haven't read it.

Mr. BRIDGES. With this committee I am talking about, with this committee.

Mr. JACKSON. My purpose as an individual member of this committee is to determine whether or not members of the Communist Party have gone abroad and have damaged the United States.

Mr. BRIDGES. There can be two separate things. When I get a passport it is my understanding it didn't mean—I was entitled to a passport even if I was a Communist.

Mr. JACKSON. That is what the committee is now investigating and a matter upon which the Congress will probably take action during this session.

Mr. BRIDGES. What are you talking to me for?

Mr. JACKSON. Obviously we are not making much headway in talking to you, but——

Mr. SCHERER. May I just ask one or two questions?

The application, Mr. Bridges, for your passport was made on July 16, 1958?

Mr. BRIDGES. I think so; yes.

Mr. SCHERER. You were not involved in the types of litigation you have been talking about at that time, were you, all the litigation took place prior to July 16, 1958.

Mr. BRIDGES. In the main, but I was still involved in litigation.

Mr. SCHERER. That was for the claim of taxes, income taxes——

Mr. BRIDGES. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. That you told us about.

Mr. BRIDGES. Right; but it is all the same thing.

Mr. SCHERER. Right. The Supreme Court decision in the case of——

Mr. BRIDGES. *Bridges v. Robertson and Schmidt*——

Mr. SCHERER. Case of *Kent and Briehl v. The Secretary of State* was decided on June 16, 1958, just a month before you made this application for a passport on which you refused to answer questions as to whether you were now or ever had been a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. BRIDGES. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. As of the time that you gave this interview——

Mr. BRIDGES. What is the point? May I ask. What is the point, Mr. Scherer? In other words, you wanted to know why I didn't apply for a——

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead, Mr. Arens.

Mr. BRIDGES. Am I entitled to some understanding as to why I was asked the question so I can answer it?

The CHAIRMAN. I don't think you are concerned with what Mr. Scherer has in mind. He is merely straightening the record.

Mr. BRIDGES. But the record is not straightened out, Mr. Chairman. Will you give me a chance to straighten out the record.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Mr. ARENS. As of the time you gave an interview to editors of *Lavoro* for publication which you denied——

Mr. BRIDGES. What is that again? What did I deny?

Mr. ARENS. The interview in *Lavoro* which you denied——

Mr. BRIDGES. I didn't.

Mr. ARENS. The charges of CIO respecting Communist domination.

Mr. BRIDGES. Oh.

Mr. ARENS. Of ILWU.

Mr. BRIDGES. I will deny them here.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know of any current officers of ILWU who to your certain knowledge were members of the Communist Party?

Mr. BRIDGES. How was that again? Give me that one again.

Mr. ARENS. As of the time of your interview with *Lavoro*——

Mr. BRIDGES. That was a dilly.

Mr. ARENS. Lavoro—did you know of officers of ILWU who were Communists?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. BRIDGES. Did you say were, or am, or is?

Mr. ARENS. Were.

Mr. BRIDGES. Were. That could be any time in their lives, in the past, either.

Mr. ARENS. We will start with that; yes, sir.

Mr. BRIDGES. At any time.

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. BRIDGES. Yes. The answer is "Yes."

Mr. ARENS. And who were they, please?

Mr. BRIDGES. I forget.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know at the time you gave this interview to Lavoro that Irving Charles Velson of ILWU was a Communist?

Mr. BRIDGES. Did you say—didn't you say officer of the ILWU?

Mr. ARENS. Official; yes, sir. Is Charles Velson employed or engaged in any capacity with ILWU?

Mr. BRIDGES. No.

Mr. ARENS. Has he been?

Mr. BRIDGES. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Over what period of time?

Mr. BRIDGES. Four or five years.

Mr. ARENS. When?

Mr. BRIDGES. Up until a few months ago.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know whether or not he is a Communist or has been a Communist in the recent past?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. BRIDGES. I take it—I am not going to answer that.

Mr. ARENS. Why?

Mr. BRIDGES. I can say—under the—the way this committee operates and the way have seen in the courts—I can say yes, I know he is a Communist, and I can be in trouble, and I can say he is not and I can be in trouble. So I am going to be safe.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know whether or not J. R. Robertson of ILWU is or in the recent past has been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BRIDGES. Here we go down the line for every 60,000, 70,000 members of the ILWU. Same answer.

Mr. JACKSON. On what grounds?

Mr. BRIDGES. Same grounds.

Mr. SCHIERER. I don't know what grounds.

Mr. BRIDGES. The grounds of the fifth amendment. That is right. Let's run up the record four or five hundred times. The 60,000 members in the ILWU and you will get the same answer with all of them.

Mr. ARENS. What position does Robertson hold in ILWU.

Mr. BRIDGES. He is the first vice president.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know whether or not Louis Goldblatt—

Mr. BRIDGES. Same answer.

Mr. ARENS. Of ILWU is or in the recent past has been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BRIDGES. Same answer with the same explanations.

Mr. ARENS. Would you hire individuals or representatives of ILWU whom you knew to be Communists?

Mr. BRIDGES. Would I?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. BRIDGES. Did you say would I, or did I?

Mr. ARENS. Would you?

Mr. BRIDGES. I would go by the person's ability to do the job for which he was hired.

Mr. SCHERER. Irrespective of the fact of his current membership in the party?

Mr. BRIDGES. The union that I represent has in the constitution that forbids discrimination for reasons of race, creed, religion, or political belief. I am its president sworn to uphold the constitution and I do my best to see that it is carried on. I intend to keep on doing it.

Mr. ARENS. What office does Louis Goldblatt hold, please, sir?

Mr. BRIDGES. He is our international secretary-treasurer and holds it very well.

Mr. ARENS. Henry Schmidt, what office or position has he held in the ILWU?

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman, I think something more than the names in question should go into the record, rather than the mere recitation of the names. I would suggest that counsel indicate and not leave the matter in abeyance as to whether or not these people are known to be members of the Communist Party.

Mr. ARENS. I expect to do so just as I finish one more name, Mr. Chairman. I have the list here before me.

What position does Henry Schmidt hold with the ILWU?

Mr. BRIDGES. None.

Mr. ARENS. What position has he held?

Mr. BRIDGES. Pardon me. That is a mistake. I was wrong on that. He is an executive board member. We are just ending one period and going into a new period and so he is——

Mr. ARENS. Do you know whether or not a Henry Schmidt is or in the recent past has been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BRIDGES. Same answer, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. ARENS. Jeff Kibre, what position has he held or does he hold with ILWU?

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. Kibre is our Washington representative. Legislative representative.

Mr. ARENS. Can you tell us while under oath, whether or not to your certain knowledge he is now, or in the recent past, has been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BRIDGES. To my certain knowledge?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. BRIDGES. Same answer for the same reasons.

Mr. ARENS. Now I will call your attention to sworn testimony by responsible witnesses under oath before this committee.

Mr. BRIDGES. Who would that be? You name them.

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir. Robert Gladnick, G-l-a-d-n-i-c-k.

Mr. BRIDGES. Never heard of him. Who is that?

Mr. ARENS. On May 6, 1953, he took an oath before this committee and identified to his certainty Irving Velson as a person known by him to be a member of the Communist Party.

Would you tell us whether or not that would make any difference to you in your relationship with Velson in ILWU?

Mr. BRIDGES. I have answered that question, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Mr. Chairman, at that point, I am not clear from the record as I heard it as to whether the witness answered categorically that it would not make any difference or would make any difference. I think, Mr. Chairman, his answer was that he would judge on the abilities and so on of the individual. Does the record show a categorical answer that it would not make any difference? Is that your answer?

Mr. BRIDGES. That is your words, Mr. Congressman. You are asking me how I would suggest it.

Mr. JACKSON. I would suggest—

Mr. BRIDGES. If I had authority to hire a person to do a certain job I would hire the person based on his ability and integrity and honesty and his guts to do the job. I put the question of his political affiliations second.

The CHAIRMAN. The fact of the matter is you would prefer a Communist over a non-Communist, would you not?

Mr. BRIDGES. That is your statement, Mr. Chairman. It is not mine.

The CHAIRMAN. I am merely asking you a question.

Mr. BRIDGES. No need to put words in my mouth.

The CHAIRMAN. I am asking you the question. Do you prefer a Communist over a non-Communist?

Mr. BRIDGES. Are you asking me a question now? Are you asking me a question?

The CHAIRMAN. Are you not listening to me?

Mr. BRIDGES. I might be mistaken. I don't want to be mistaken, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. That is a question. I am asking a question.

Mr. BRIDGES. I thought you said "Now, the fact of the matter is you would prefer." Now, that is one way. Now, if you are asking me a question "Would you prefer" that is a different thing entirely. Is that the question, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, that is the question.

Mr. BRIDGES. Would I prefer? The answer is "No."

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Mr. Chairman, I have no desire to put any words in the witness' mouth. But my question is: Would your certain knowledge that an individual was a member of the Communist Party prevent you from hiring him or from his appointment?

Mr. BRIDGES. It might or it might not. Let me explain my answer to you, Mr. Johansen. With all the furor and hysteria, and one thing and another that has grown up at least in recent years the question of hiring an official, a Communist to do a job for our union, might or would have to be considered even though I might think he was the best man for the job. But the general idea that has been placed in the public mind of all the terrible things that communism is or is supposed to represent, Communists supposed to do—

The CHAIRMAN. You are talking about Tibet now, aren't you?

Mr. BRIDGES. What is that?

The CHAIRMAN. You are talking about Tibet, now, are you not?

Mr. BRIDGES. Tibet. Where does Tibet get into this, Mr. Chairman? I am talking about America.

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, I see.

Mr. BRIDGES. If you want to talk about Tibet, I will do my best.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Mr. BRIDGES. If this committee will let me go to Tibet, I might go there, too, if I get a chance.

The CHAIRMAN. This committee has nothing to do for the moment with where you go.

Mr. BRIDGES. It seems to me the committee is working hard to see that I don't go any other place again.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee has nothing to do with that. That is entirely up to the State Department.

Mr. BRIDGES. To try to answer your question, Mr. Johansen, my point is that although I might believe the man is the best man for the job, if at the same time he is an official Communist, that might hamper his work or the kind of work we would want him to do so much that he would be discarded for that reason. It is something that we would give consideration to as practical people.

On the other hand, I might say the same thing about a Republican. I would have lots of work were the very fact that the poor guy was an honest, decent Republican would render him—well, I could get someone better.

Mr. ARENS. Were you cognizant of the fact that J. R. Robertson of ILWU has been identified by responsible witnesses under oath, a responsible witness under oath, too, as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BRIDGES. Oh, I sat for days in a courtroom and heard witnesses testify. I wouldn't call them responsible and the courts didn't find them that way. That is a fact.

Mr. ARENS. Are you cognizant of the fact that Louis Goldblatt, one of the officers of ILWU, has been identified by responsible witnesses under oath as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BRIDGES. I have heard witnesses testify to that effect under oath and I would again not call them responsible and the court so found.

Mr. ARENS. Are you cognizant of the fact that Henry Schmidt has been——

Mr. BRIDGES. Same answer.

Mr. ARENS. Identified by responsible witnesses under oath as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BRIDGES. I heard my codefendant, Henry Schmidt, characterized as such by witnesses under oath. I wouldn't call them responsible. I would call them liars and perjurers.

Mr. SCHERER. Pardon me just a minute.

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. You just said you called the witness a liar and perjurer?

Mr. BRIDGES. Exactly.

Mr. SCHERER. When they identified Schmidt as a Communist were they in error?

Mr. BRIDGES. I say the court, three of them——

Mr. SCHERER. I am not asking about the courts. I am asking you. When they——

Mr. BRIDGES. What's that?

Mr. SCHERER. When they identified Schmidt as a member of the Communist apparatus, were they in error?

Mr. BRIDGES. As far as I was concerned they were not only in error, they were cockeyed liars.

Mr. SCHERER. Did you know Schmidt as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BRIDGES. Did I know?

Mr. SCHERER. Did you know Schmidt as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BRIDGES. I already answered that question. The same answer.

Mr. SCHERER. Wait a minute. Did you know Schmidt as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BRIDGES. I already answered that question.

Mr. SCHERER. Do I understand that answer to be that you refuse to answer that question?

Mr. BRIDGES. That is right, for the same reason under the constitutional privilege of the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Are you cognizant of the fact that Jeff Kibre has been identified by several responsible witnesses under oath as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BRIDGES. No, I don't know that. I think I have heard it but—

Mr. ARENS. Would it make any difference to you in your relationship with him in ILWU?

Mr. BRIDGES. What do you mean? What do you mean by that? Would I hire him?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. BRIDGES. I already answered that question as best I could, whether it goes to Kibre or anyone else.

Mr. ARENS. Did you have conferences with leaders of labor groups with reference to the situation laborwise in Florence, Italy?

Mr. BRIDGES. Did I have conferences in Florence?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. BRIDGES. No.

Mr. ARENS. Did you have conferences with respect to the situation in Florence?

Mr. BRIDGES. Well, in the discussions Mr. Santi couldn't spend much time with us because he had to go to Florence. I think the city was tied up or about to be tied up in a general strike. So in that sense we had a conference where I inquired or he told us about the situation in Florence and I discussed that situation for my own information with trade union officials there, yes.

Mr. ARENS. Did you have conferences with trade union officials in Belgium?

Mr. BRIDGES. Yes; very fine people.

Mr. ARENS. Did you invite any of the people in Italy or in Belgium to participate in the Pacific-Asia Dock Conference?

Mr. BRIDGES. I don't recall that. I invited them to participate in our convention, our international convention.

Mr. ARENS. That is the one held on the coast recently?

Mr. BRIDGES. In Seattle, commencing April 6. A very successful convention.

Mr. ARENS. Did any of them come?

Mr. BRIDGES. We had communications from some of them saying that they couldn't afford it, we had an offer from others to come but they couldn't make proper passport arrangements.

Mr. ARENS. Now, what was the next country you visited after you left Italy?

Mr. BRIDGES. Greece—Athens.

Mr. ARENS. Did you have any letters of introduction?

Mr. BRIDGES. One.

Mr. ARENS. To whom?

Mr. BRIDGES. Not to the the trade union people.

Mr. ARENS. Beg pardon?

Mr. BRIDGES. Not to the trade union people.

Mr. ARENS. To whom was that letter of introduction?

Mr. BRIDGES. The Surgeon General of the Royal Greek Navy.

Mr. ARENS. From whom was the letter?

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. George Christopher, the mayor of San Francisco.

Mr. ARENS. Did you invite the labor leaders in Greece to the Pacific-Asia Dock Workers Conference?

Mr. BRIDGES. No. We got our contact with the labor movement in Greece through the U.S. Embassy in Athens, where we got very, very shabby treatment at the U.S. Embassy, the only Embassy that gave us nasty, shabby treatment.

Mr. ARENS. Did you have any discussions within the Embassy there?

Mr. SCHERER. Beg pardon. Just a minute. You said the U.S. Embassy in Greece gave you shabby treatment.

Mr. BRIDGES. That is right.

Mr. SCHERER. Who was it in particular?

Mr. BRIDGES. To answer it I will tell you the story. We had no contact with the Greek labor movement and we had made no prior arrangements so our first call in Athens was to the American Embassy where we tried to see the labor attaché. I was at the reception desk and the gentleman at the desk, who was very courteous called the office of the labor attaché and said that he is not in. I inquired as to whether he would be back and there was further conversation. They didn't know that. We only had 2 or 3 days in Greece. So after a few minutes of this it was pretty apparent to me that I was being given the brush off or lied to, would be a way of putting it. So we went out.

Mr. SCHERER. They knew it was Harry Bridges, did they not, who wanted to see the labor attaché?

Mr. BRIDGES. I was told by the gentleman at the reception desk with a U.S. Marine standing by and certainly they knew it was me. I turned over my card and told the labor attaché who I was.

So on the way out a young gentleman, who was an economist attached to the Embassy, who spoke English, came out and met me outside. He was very nice and courteous and took me upstairs to his office and asked what we wanted to know. He phoned at that time, he phoned the Greek Federation of Labor and gave us the information and then we said that we tried to meet the labor attaché. He said, "I will arrange that." He grabbed the phone, and asked for the name of the labor attaché and starts to talk to him and then right

in front of us he said over the phone "oh, oh, you are not in." That was the end of contact.

Mr. SCHERER. You don't know who that was?

Mr. BRIDGES. Who the gentleman was in the Embassy we were talking to?

Mr. SCHERER. That you were trying to contact, what his name was?

Mr. BRIDGES. Yes; I have his name somewhere. I think it was either Mr. Samberger was attached—I think Mr. Samberger¹ was Chargé d'Affairs because we tried to see him too. I have the name of the labor attaché somewhere.

Mr. SCHERER. You received a little different treatment from Ambassador Zellerbach in Italy; did you not?

Mr. BRIDGES. Very courteous and decent treatment from Mr. Zellerbach.

Mr. SCHERER. Did you have lunch with him?

Mr. BRIDGES. That was true of every American Embassy we contacted elsewhere. We did not have lunch with Mr. Zellerbach. He was busy.

Mr. ARENS. What forces were contending in the Greek civil war? Do you recall?

Mr. BRIDGES. What is that?

Mr. ARENS. What forces were opposing one another in the Greek civil war?

Mr. BRIDGES. I don't know.

Mr. ARENS. What was the position of ILWU on the aid to the anti-Communist forces in Greece?

Mr. BRIDGES. Before I answer that, which forces in Greece in the Greece civil war represented the workers? With that understanding, if they had such forces, we were supporting them.

Mr. ARENS. Was ILWU officially opposed to aid to Greece in the Greek civil war period?

Mr. BRIDGES. Would that be what you call the Truman Doctrine?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. BRIDGES. Yes, sir; we were. And, boy, when we went to Greece we sure found we were right.

Mr. ARENS. What was the next country that you visited after Greece?

Mr. BRIDGES. Egypt—Cairo, and Alexandria.

Mr. ARENS. While in Cairo did you attend the Afro-Asian Youth Conference?

Mr. BRIDGES. I did.

Mr. ARENS. Did you meet any American delegates there?

Mr. BRIDGES. No.

Mr. ARENS. How did you happen to meet the American delegates? Did you know their names prior to the time you went to Egypt?

Mr. BRIDGES. What American delegates are you talking about?

Mr. ARENS. Did you meet any American delegates to the Afro-Asian Youth Conference?

Mr. BRIDGES. Not that I recall. We met quite a few. I don't recall any delegates as such.

Mr. ARENS. Were you directly invited to attend the Afro-Asian Youth Conference in Egypt?

¹ James W. Riddleberger, Ambassador.

Mr. BRIDGES. By whom or when?

Mr. ARENS. Were you at any time?

Mr. BRIDGES. While in Cairo?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. BRIDGES. Yes, sir. When right there; yes.

Mr. ARENS. Had you been invited prior to the time that you arrived in Cairo?

Mr. BRIDGES. Not that I recall. Might have. Look, you are reading from all the reports we made. I will submit a full set of those reports. They are better than my memory.

Mr. ARENS. Did you discuss with the labor leaders in Egypt the question of strikes?

Mr. BRIDGES. Sure.

Mr. ARENS. What did they tell you about strikes in Egypt?

Mr. BRIDGES. Said they couldn't afford them for the time being.

Mr. ARENS. Did they tell you that their strikes, in many ways parallel those of American unions during World War II, namely, the strikes were a luxury they couldn't afford? Is that the essence of what they told you?

Mr. BRIDGES. Is that the essence of what they told me?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. BRIDGES. That is our conclusion. In other words—let me explain that—the leaders of the Arab Federation of Labor, which is a new federation only 2 years of age, and we had many discussions with them, pointed out that a No. 1 problem was to build up industry in their country, consolidate their revolution, enforce the new laws, and they had many, many problems and although they had a legal and technical right to strike, that had been written into the constitution since the revolution, it was the official policy of the labor movement to refrain from striking and to prevent the local unions from striking because they had more important things to do, namely, No. 1, build up their economy, and defend themselves against such invasions as took place by Britain, France, and Israel a couple of years ago.

Mr. ARENS. Is that the attitude you described in your article, the same attitude of the American unions during World War II, namely, the strikes are a luxury that we can't afford?

Mr. BRIDGES. Under the circumstances. The article speaks for itself, Mr. Counsel. Instead of me wracking my memory they were written at the time from on the scenes. I had a portable recorder with me, that I used to record. So the article is much better as to what I said and meant than my trying to remember now. We covered a dozen countries in 7 weeks, going day and night.

Mr. ARENS. During the period of the Hitler-Stalin Pact, which lasted until June of 1941—

Mr. BRIDGES. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Did you support the policy of the Federal Government of the United States, at that time, with respect to "no strikes," a policy of organized labor overall of no strikes?

Mr. BRIDGES. We were affiliated with the CIO and I was an officer of the CIO and we supported the policy of the CIO.

Mr. ARENS. Did your union have any change of attitude toward the war in Europe after the breaching of the Hitler-Stalin Pact?

Mr. BRIDGES. Not that I recall.

Mr. ARENS. Did your union support or did you as an individual support policies of this Government with respect to the war in Korea?

Mr. BRIDGES. No. Just a minute. The union or did I, did you say?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. BRIDGES. You mean both?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. BRIDGES. The union supported the Government. I objected. And I got thrown into jail for it. I was jailed for it. And I still think I was more right than the union was.

Mr. ARENS. Suppose the U.S. Government decided to send arms or troops from our west coast to Nationalist China in the event of an armed conflict with Red China. Would you think it would be all right for ILWU to strike and sabotage the plans of this Government in that respect?

Mr. BRIDGES. I think that that is only something that could be determined by the membership of the union.

Mr. ARENS. Would you advocate a strike and sabotage of the plans of your Government in that event?

Mr. BRIDGES. There is no way I can answer that question.

Mr. ARENS. Did you answer that question when you were interviewed on that particular subject by Mike Wallace on August 18, 1957?

Mr. BRIDGES. Have you the answer there?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir. "Well, it could be."

Mr. BRIDGES. Go ahead and read it.

Mr. ARENS. That is the answer, "Well, it could be."

Mr. BRIDGES. All right. That is the answer. I think I said what I am saying now. That would be a matter that the union would meet at that time. You see we think——

Mr. ARENS. Here is the answer. "As an individual I would."

Mr. BRIDGES. All right. That is still the answer. Haven't I got that right?

(Document marked "Bridges Exhibit No. 5," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. In the event of war in Asia would you advocate a strike for the purpose of impeding the shipment of arms to our allies in Asia?

Mr. BRIDGES. Now, this is all mixed up here. We start off by talking about a fight between Chiang Kai-shek, who I think is a bum, and the mainland of China. That is something between the Chinese, and you asked me my position on that.

Mr. ARENS. Would you advocate a strike in order to curtail the shipment of supplies in the event the U.S. Government would ship arms to Formosa?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. BRIDGES. Are we still talking about a war between Formosa and mainland China and you asked me what my position was?

Mr. ARENS. Yes.

Mr. BRIDGES. I would object in every possible way I could. You are asking me. Then you asked me——

Mr. ARENS. No, let's just stay with the question, Mr. Bridges. Would you, as president of ILWU, advocate a strike in order to im-

pede the shipments of supplies to Formosa if the U.S. Government were shipping supplies to Formosa and Formosa and Red China were at war?

Mr. BRIDGES. I don't know what this has got to do with passports. But I want to relate to you the position—

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly answer the question?

Mr. BRIDGES. I will answer it in my way, Mr. Counsel, if you want an answer and if you will give me a chance.

The CHAIRMAN. Answer the question.

Mr. BRIDGES. All right. We are still dealing with a possible attempt, as I understand it, of Chiang Kai-shek to invade the mainland of China. I am trying to tell you that my attitude toward that, I would strenuously object and do what I could to oppose the United States engaging in such a suicide enterprise.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly answer the question? Would you exercise your prerogatives as president of ILWU in the direction of using a strike of longshoremen so as to impede the shipments of these armaments which we have been discussing?

Mr. BRIDGES. I have no such prerogative. You are all mixed up.

Mr. ARENS. Would you advocate a strike?

Mr. BRIDGES. I would prefer to wait and see what would happen at that time. I don't know. At this stage of the game I don't know what I might do.

If I felt doing that would keep the United States from going into such a suicidal enterprise and meaning the loss of life in the United States my position at the moment would be, I think I would.

Mr. SCHERER. You would?

Mr. BRIDGES. I think a single life lost trying to help Chiang Kai-shek get back to the mainland, even one single American penny spent is outrageous.

Mr. SCHERER. Even though the President of the United States adopted such a policy in the interest of the security of the United States?

Mr. BRIDGES. The President could be wrong. A different thing. We are talking about these things. When you are talking about Congress declaring war, which Congress doesn't seem to do any more these days, somebody else does it for us. If Congress declared war on a particular country I don't think I would have much to say about it at all. I would go along or else. That is the way it works. When the country is at war you lose certain rights.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Bridges, what was the next country you visited after Egypt?

Mr. BRIDGES. Czechoslovakia.

Mr. ARENS. When you filed your passport application—

Mr. BRIDGES. Let me interpose to save you a little time—

Mr. ARENS. Just a moment.

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. Arens.

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. BRIDGES. You know we would like to go to Hungary, to dig out a few, at least, facts we hoped, but of course we were forbidden. We couldn't even travel through Hungary to go from Cairo to Israel. We weren't even allowed to fly through the airport, let alone visit the country.

Mr. ARENS. Now, Mr. Bridges, when you filed your original passport application you did not list Czechoslovakia as one of the countries which you intended to visit, is that correct?

Mr. BRIDGES. No, it is not correct.

(Document handed.)

Mr. BRIDGES. I am sorry. It is. One mistake.

Mr. ARENS. When did you decide you wanted to?

Mr. BRIDGES. Get it right now. In order to explain that, you see. I am not saying that when we left we didn't have in mind we might have time to do it. But we was in Egypt. The Egyptian people, because quite a bit of discussion was over the matter of relations between Israel and Egypt, so we were trying to go from Cairo in the Middle East to Israel, which is also in the Middle East and the only way we could get there was to go up around Prague, Vienna, or some place. We couldn't go directly. So we decided we would change our itinerary and we went to Prague and Moscow and then Copenhagen, then back through Germany, back to Israel, all that way, all the way around back to New York.

Mr. ARENS. Did you contemplate going to Czechoslovakia when you left the shores of the United States?

Mr. BRIDGES. I don't know. I forget.

Mr. SCHERER. I didn't hear the the answer.

Mr. BRIDGES. I forget, Mr. Scherer. If you ask did we have any specific plans, I can't recall at this time.

Mr. JACKSON. You were very much surprised to find out Czechoslovakia was not listed on your passport application. You were quite certain it was.

Mr. BRIDGES. The reasons for that was we planned a trip a couple years before. We originally planned a 4 months trip, and I tried to decide against going but I was ruled out by the rest of my officers because there was too tough a trip to try to cover in 6 weeks and originally I know I think we had in mind going to not only Czechoslovakia, but some other places like Yugoslavia and so forth.

Mr. ARENS. Did the fact that Prague is the headquarters of the World Federation of Trade Unions enter into your determination to go there?

Mr. BRIDGES. I don't think so. We know that Prague was headquarters of the WFTU and we knew that before we talked to the people in Prague.

Mr. ARENS. Now, while you were in Prague, did you visit the headquarters of WFTU?

Mr. BRIDGES. We visited two or three very huge buildings. Now, I think that the trade unions there have these huge establishments and at least in one of them was the headquarters of the WFTU. It was completely devoted to WFTU. I am not sure. I think our records would reveal that.

Mr. ARENS. While in Prague did you give any press interviews?

Mr. BRIDGES. No.

Mr. ARENS. I have here an article (Feb. 8, 1959) from "Práce", a daily newspaper of Prague which we have had translated, quoting Harry Bridges, and I should like to read you certain excerpts from that press interview.

Mr. BRIDGES. Let's get it straight first. When you say a press interview it brings to my mind talking to the public press.

Mr. ARENS. You didn't talk to the public press, is that correct?

Mr. BRIDGES. Well, yes, once in Athens, where I said—the AP man cornered me so I interviewed him or he interviewed me, when we landed in Athens, how long we would be there, and when we left there.

Mr. ARENS. Did you give an interview then to Práce, P-r-á-c-e?

Mr. BRIDGES. Was that the trade union paper?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. BRIDGES. Oh, yes, we talked to those people.

Mr. ARENS. Did you say as follows:

Since American workers are constantly under the influence of press and radio, which are hostile toward you, we will have to explain many ideas of our union members so that they may have a correct picture of life in Czechoslovakia. For example, our visit at the TOV plant at Celakovice convinced us of the absurdity of the propaganda concerning working conditions in your factories, social care of workers, life of your youth, and the work and position of your union organization. After our visit to England, France, Belgium, Greece and Egypt, we got the impression that you are on the best way toward the achievement of even better results than you hitherto achieved.

Is that what you told them in this press interview?

Mr. BRIDGES. Generally speaking, I think. That is only a part of it. (Document marked "Bridges Exhibit No. 6," and retained in committees files.)

Mr. ARENS. Is that the essence? I haven't omitted anything crucial, have I?

Mr. BRIDGES. I think I am referring there to a visit, to certain visits we made in one plant in particular where we talked to the workers in that plant, surveyed the plant and compared conditions of such matters of unemployment, because Czechoslovakia, and I understand you go to a country like that where you can't speak the language, we were less than 4 days, mainly depending on what people told you, in this case trade unions. As far as we understand, it was the first country we had ever even been in where there was no unemployment. We were very much interested in how come they had no unemployment and had abolished unemployment.

Mr. ARENS. Did it occur to you the abolition of unemployment bore any connection with forced labor in Czechoslovakia?

Mr. BRIDGES. That is what we were looking for, forced labor and couldn't find any.

I went to the American Embassy and asked where we could find forced labor. They couldn't. We checked with the Embassy.

(Mr. Jackson left the room.)

Mr. ARENS. Are the trade unions in Czechoslovakia free or under the influence of the Communist Party?

Mr. BRIDGES. Oh, I say they were under the influence of the Communist Party.

Mr. SCHERER. The same as some of them in America?

Mr. BRIDGES. I think there is a statement to that effect. I think we had a constitution of the trade unions, and I think there is a statement to that effect there within their constitution. They don't use the term "influence." But they say in collaboration or cooperation or something like that.

Mr. SCHERER. That happens in the United States with certain trade unions, does it not?

Mr. BRIDGES. What is that?

Mr. SCHERER. Collaboration with the Communist apparatus. It is not unique in Czechoslovakia, is it?

Mr. BRIDGES. Oh, I think it is much different.

Mr. SCHERER. Much different?

Mr. BRIDGES. Much different, the way I am thinking of it.

Mr. SCHERER. Some unions here in the United States are Communist-dominated, are they not?

Mr. BRIDGES. No. The way I am referring to there, Mr. Scherer, in Czechoslovakia we was out at the plant and we sat down with the plant management and the trade union leadership in that plant and we spent many, many hours, and I asked them what the collective bargaining processes were; and then they spelled out that in the bargaining to cover that plant because of social activities, recreation, housing, and other things, the bargaining goes on, where there is not only the plant management, there is youth representatives, there is trade union representatives and there is Communist Party representatives, that is, the Communist Party group in the plant. They kind of sit in in collective bargaining in certain aspects of collective bargaining, and that is what I was trying to find out, just what part they played.

Mr. ARENS. Did you make an ascertainment of how the people are faring under the Communist regime as compared prior to the time the Communists took over the country?

Mr. BRIDGES. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. What was your conclusion on that?

Mr. BRIDGES. Never mind my conclusions. Let's go by what the workers told me.

Mr. ARENS. All right, sir.

Mr. BRIDGES. Now, where I could, like in this plant we visited, for example, I talked—when we went into the plant, it was a big plant making machine tools, there was a balcony all around, so I spent the first 15 or 20 minutes walking around to see what they were working on, men and women working, just sizing up the pace at which they were working. They weren't working hard.

Then I noticed drifting down the alleyways, the aisles between the various machines, first of all I saw one woman walking down, a man with a couple pint pots of beer in his hands, and then over on the other side I saw a man walking down with a couple pint pots of beer and a couple of hot dogs in his hands.

The general pace of the whole plant was pretty leisurely, I would say, with quite a few of the workers sitting at the machines and most everyone of them reading a book.

Mr. SCHERER. Workers' paradise?

Mr. BRIDGES. What is that?

Mr. SCHERER. Workers' paradise.

Mr. BRIDGES. Workers' what?

Mr. SCHERER. Paradise.

Mr. BRIDGES. I wouldn't say that, Mr. Scherer. That is your term. I don't think it is any use going to a country and just going in with a closed mind or prejudiced mind. What I was trying to do was to find out the good things and bad things. That is what I was trying to find out.

Mr. ARENS. That was one of the bad things you found out, Mr. Bridges?

Mr. BRIDGES. You asked me to explain and I am trying to explain. I don't have to talk the language to try to go to a country and see if workers work hard. And I am a worker, used to be a working stiff myself, and I can tell those things.

I went to talk to workers on the job.

And I said, "All right. Look. This was since the revolution. How was it before the revolution." And I asked them and quite a few of them talked English, and I am going primarily by what they told me, added to what I saw.

This is the conclusions and that is what I based my conclusions on.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Bridges, we have here for display for your attention a chart developed by competent authority, the AFL-CIO based on extensive research—

Mr. BRIDGES. That is enough for me. I don't want to see the chart.

Mr. ARENS. On the workers' purchasing power in Czechoslovakia before the Communists took over and after the Communists took over. You have told about your experience in seeing the workers drink beer and relax in the plant.

Mr. BRIDGES. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. I invite your attention to this chart, for the period between 1938, before the Communists took over, and 1957, after they took over, which shows a tremendous disparity in the actual amount of working time required for purchasing power.

Mr. BRIDGES. Who says so?

Mr. ARENS. That the worker must engage in in order to earn food, clothing, and the necessities of life.

Mr. BRIDGES. I would sooner go by what I found out myself.

(Document marked "Bridges Exhibit No. 7," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Did you have supplied to you in the course of your study of conditions in Czechoslovakia, which you reported to the Commonwealth Club in San Francisco, and which you have reported in your press interview, the statistics from the Communist government as to the cost in actual hours' work committed by the workers in Czechoslovakia prior to the time the Communists took over and after they took over?

Mr. BRIDGES. I can only tell you what the workers told me along the same line.

Mr. ARENS. Did you discuss with the workers there the monetary reform in Czechoslovakia of June 1, 1953, which wiped out all of the savings of the workers in Czechoslovakia?

Mr. BRIDGES. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. And did they tell you likewise of their right to strike in the labor organizations or did they tell you that they didn't have a right to strike?

Mr. BRIDGES. Let's back up a little. You said the monetary reforms which wiped out the workers' savings, did I discuss them?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. BRIDGES. I discussed that particular thing at that time, and I found out that no worker's savings were wiped out.

Mr. ARENS. Who told you that?

Mr. BRIDGES. The workers and the trade unionists.

Mr. ARENS. In whose presence did they tell you that?

Mr. BRIDGES. In whose presence? What do you mean?

Mr. ARENS. What worker told you that?

Mr. BRIDGES. Various workers I talked to where I could talk to them.

Mr. ARENS. Do you speak the Czechoslovakian language?

Mr. BRIDGES. No.

Mr. ARENS. Did you have an interpreter?

Mr. BRIDGES. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Who supplied the interpreter?

Mr. BRIDGES. The trade union.

Mr. ARENS. Who accompanied you when you went around and talked to these workers?

Mr. BRIDGES. Trade unionists.

Mr. ARENS. And were these trade unionists Communists?

Mr. BRIDGES. In some cases.

Mr. ARENS. You have no doubt in your mind, did you but that—

Mr. BRIDGES. Just a minute. Back up again. Now, wait a while. So we were talking to workers through the interpreters, but they are also talking, quite a few Czechoslovakian workers that would talk English. Somehow or other, I guess they may be smarter than we. They teach in addition to their own language other language in school. It is compulsory. I have never been more sorry in all my life that all I could speak was English.

Mr. ARENS. Did you discuss with them the right to strike?

Mr. BRIDGES. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Did they tell you they had a right to strike?

Mr. BRIDGES. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Did they tell you about any strikes they had called off?

Mr. BRIDGES. Yes.

They also told me much more than that when I got through questioning them on that. It was their opinion they could gain a darn sight more by not striking, and I kind of agreed with them the way I saw it, than by striking. They have a different setup and wages are set based on productivity, and there is a production plan in every plant and unless the production plan is acceptable to the trade unions there is no plan, therefore there is no work in the plant.

Mr. ARENS. Did you discuss with the workers the administration of the vacation program?

Mr. BRIDGES. Yes. All under the control of the trade unions guaranteed by laws, as well as free and comprehensive medical care, et cetera, et cetera, including the rates.

Mr. ARENS. I am going to ask you about that in detail in just a minute.

Mr. BRIDGES. You sure spend a lot of time.

Mr. ARENS. You say the vacation program is under control of the trade unions. Are the trade unions in turn under control of the Communist Party?

Mr. BRIDGES. According to what they said, nope.

Mr. ARENS. I call your attention, Mr. Bridges, to certain of the official documents and statements on this very issue.

Mr. BRIDGES. From the AFL-CIO, huh?

Mr. ARENS. No. We have the constitution of the Soviet trade unions.

Mr. BRIDGES. I have that; yes.

Mr. ARENS. We have the constitutions of the various Communist organizations, indicating beyond peradventure of a doubt, the control of the trade unions by the Communist Party. Are you cognizant of the fact, Mr. Bridges, that in the administration of this vacation program which you have just lauded, that the recreation facilities of the vacation program are accorded on the basis of the fulfillment of quotas established by the trade unions?

Mr. BRIDGES. Leaving the last part out and taking one step at the time, I think it is generally true that the recreation facilities either are tied in directly with the production quotas, which are in turn set in conjunction with the unions. That is the way collective bargaining proceeds over there and by and large the way wages are set. That is true.

Mr. ARENS. Are you cognizant of the fact that the Premier of Czechoslovakia called for a reorganization of the health program, asserting that, "Insurance matters are administered without regard to the interests of socialist production, * * * the doctors also lack proper understanding of our productive needs * * *." "Very often," and he is critical here, "Very often, (they, the doctors) take the erroneous philanthropic and liberal view that the main objective is to provide relief for the individual * * *." Did they tell you about that while you were in Czechoslovakia?

Mr. BRIDGES. That is nothing new. We have that trouble every day right here at home. The same reasons. So that is true. What that refers to is that a lot of the production norms that we set in 1946 they told us and with new machinery in the plants what was happening there was some severe inequities between plants. Some plants that had new machinery and more skilled or highly skilled workers over the years and therefore they were producing or meeting the plan with a great deal of leisure time and therefore this made them, or this allowed them to have more benefits. Because of these norms that had been set in 1946 they were struggling hard, both management and labor, to meet the same norms and being discriminated against as it were. That is what that refers to.

Mr. ARENS. Did the individual workers there tell you of their right to quit their job?

Mr. BRIDGES. Sure did.

Mr. ARENS. Any time they want to?

Mr. BRIDGES. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Go from job to job?

Mr. BRIDGES. No, they can't do that. But they still have cases. They have a technical right. I guess it is something like the Negroes in the South here. They have a right to vote but it is kind of dangerous to do it.

Mr. SCHERER. Just a minute, Mr. Arens.

Mr. Bridges, you are going to fall backward. You are just about a quarter of an inch from the end of the stand.

Mr. BRIDGES. I will fall somewhere before I am through.

Mr. ARENS. In Czechoslovakia, did you talk to George Shaw Wheeler?

Mr. BRIDGES. George who?

Mr. ARENS. George Shaw Wheeler.

Mr. BRIDGES. Yes, I saw him.

Mr. ARENS. Who is George Shaw Wheeler?

Mr. BRIDGES. I knew Wheeler here in the city many years ago, him and his wife.

Mr. ARENS. In what capacity did you know him?

Mr. BRIDGES. I was a member of the Cooperative Bookshop in the city of Washington many, many years ago and a very fine institution and he was active in that, both him and his wife.

Mr. ARENS. What was George Shaw Wheeler doing in Czechoslovakia when you were there?

Mr. BRIDGES. Teaching at the university.

Mr. ARENS. Was he a citizen of the United States at the time?

Mr. BRIDGES. I don't know.

Mr. ARENS. He renounced his citizenship, did he not?

Mr. BRIDGES. I don't know.

Mr. ARENS. Did you make a prior arrangement to confer with George Shaw Wheeler before you went into Czechoslovakia?

Mr. BRIDGES. No.

Mr. ARENS. How did you happen to know that he was there?

Mr. BRIDGES. He came down to the hotel to see us. He knew Glazier who is also someone he knew, somehow or other. I guess he heard we were there. He came down to the hotel. We had a few drinks together and talked and found it interesting and I wanted to check a few things with him. I arranged to see him later and I saw him later again for a short time.

Mr. ARENS. Did you in the course of your interview with these Embassy officials in Prague advise them that the trade union officials had up to that point given you a run around?

Mr. BRIDGES. No.

Mr. ARENS. When did you leave Czechoslovakia?

Mr. BRIDGES. What do you mean, what date?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir. Approximately when? How long were you in Czechoslovakia? That will be sufficient.

Mr. BRIDGES. About 3½ days.

Mr. ARENS. What was your next stop?

Mr. BRIDGES. Moscow.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will stand in recess until 2 o'clock. (Whereupon, at 12:20 p.m., the hearing recessed to reconvene at 2 p.m. of the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION, TUESDAY, APRIL 21, 1959

(The hearing was resumed at 2 p.m.)

(At the expiration of the recess the following members of the committee were present: Representatives Walter (presiding), Doyle, Willis, Scherer, and Johansen.)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be in order.

Mr. Bridges, will you please resume the witness stand?

TESTIMONY OF HARRY BRIDGES, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL,
GEORGE R. ANDERSEN—Resumed

Mr. BRIDGES. Are we in session, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. BRIDGES. What is this gentleman doing here?

Do I have to submit to photographs?

The CHAIRMAN. No.

Mr. BRIDGES. I am sorry for the working members of the press but there is a principle involved.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Bridges, prior to your arrival in the Soviet Union, did the ILWU or did you as an individual maintain contacts with persons in the Soviet Union?

Mr. BRIDGES. Yes, I think so. You are talking about correspondence?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. BRIDGES. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. With whom did you correspond?

Mr. BRIDGES. The trade union people.

Mr. ARENS. Who were they, do you recall?

Mr. BRIDGES. Offhand, no.

Mr. ARENS. With what trade unions were they connected in the Soviet Union?

Mr. BRIDGES. The transport union.

Mr. ARENS. Do you recall the name of the transport union?

Mr. BRIDGES. One would be a gentleman named Yarosh, Y-a-r-o-s-h.

Mr. ARENS. May I, without being rude to you, ask if you are reading from a prepared itinerary that you have?

Mr. BRIDGES. I am reading from a few notes of that, yes. It is a prepared itinerary. Do you want it?

Mr. ARENS. I just wondered if that is in such condition that you would present it to the committee if that is your itinerary on the people with whom you conferred.

Mr. BRIDGES. In part. It is rough. It would need me to interpret it.

Mr. ARENS. All right, sir.

Mr. BRIDGES. Unless you take it along with me it is not much good.

Mr. ARENS. When you arrived at the Soviet Union, with what groups or persons did you confer?

(At this point, Mr. Moulder entered the hearing room.)

Mr. BRIDGES. Officers of the Soviet Sea and River Transport Workers Union and officers of the All Union Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions.

Mr. ARENS. Do you speak Russian?

Mr. BRIDGES. No.

Mr. ARENS. Did you have a Russian interpreter?

Mr. BRIDGES. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Did you in the course of your conferences in Moscow confer with any Government officials other than officials of the trade unions?

Mr. BRIDGES. I do not know.

Mr. ARENS. I am not quibbling with you. You spoke of your conferences with officials of two trade unions.

Did you, in addition to that, confer with Soviet leaders in the Government?

Mr. BRIDGES. I am just trying to figure because in practically every country we went to we found that the trade union leaders were the members of the government; in Britain, for example, members of the Labor Party and Mr. Santi and others. I don't know which one of these leaders were members of the Soviet, Supreme Soviet or not.

Mr. ARENS. Did you in the course of your conversations with these officials in Moscow discuss with them the findings that you had arrived at as a result of your experiences in England, France, Italy, and Czechoslovakia?

Mr. BRIDGES. Oh, yes.

Mr. ARENS. Did you confer with American personnel at our Embassy in Moscow?

Mr. BRIDGES. We certainly did. We were treated very courteously and very well. I want to make it clear because of something I said here earlier today about the treatment we received at the Greek Embassy; I would not want it to appear that the young man that made the arrangements for us with the Greek Federation of Labor went out of his way to do it. I don't want to cause anybody the loss of their jobs.

Mr. SCHERER. I did not have that in mind. I was going to compliment him on his conduct.

Mr. BRIDGES. I am glad to hear it, Mr. Scherer.

I am saying that we received very courteous and fine treatment with the personnel of every embassy we went to, including Moscow and Prague with this one exception.

Mr. ARENS. Did you discuss with our Embassy personnel the location of slave labor camps in Soviet Russia?

Mr. BRIDGES. I sure did.

Mr. ARENS. Were you advised by them respecting the maximum security prison labor camps and the existence of slave labor camps in certain areas?

Mr. BRIDGES. Do you want me to tell the story?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. BRIDGES. All right.

We went up, I think the second day we were there we went up to the Soviet Embassy, met two gentlemen. They were economists attached—I said Soviet Embassy. I meant the American Embassy. One was a Mr. Winters, economic officer of the U.S. Embassy and I think the other was a man named Hunter.¹ We explained that we wanted to find out all we could while we were in the Soviet Union, we were only due to be there 4 days, we had not intended to come. We did plan to go to the port of Leningrad, which was frozen over. That was more or less part of our itinerary going to and coming back from Sweden and Denmark.

So we discussed general things like the new 7-year plan.

These were two economists. We expressed a certain amount of skepticism as to whether such things could be done in the span of time, it required a huge jump in industrial overall production, and they likewise expressed their skepticism.

¹ Richard C. Harmstone, Vice Consul, U.S. Embassy, Moscow.

They had all the Soviet papers there. They had been analyzing it. Both of them spoke Russian.

Then we finally got around to the issue of slave labor camps. I told them that we had made arrangements as far as we were able to with these trade union officers we were speaking to and the officers of the All Union Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions to be taken anywhere we wanted to go and to take anybody with us that we wanted to take and to see anything we wanted to see.

I said to these two gentlemen in the Embassy, "I want to see some slave camps. Where are they? What is their address? You people live here."

I noticed that on the table they had some documents of the ICFTU dealing with slave labor, the ones that say that Russia is full of slave labor camps.

Well, the gentleman said, "Well, listen. Since the change from the Stalin era and certain other changes, why, there have been quite a few changes and people have been released, et cetera, and now they are called prison camps."

Well, "let's settle for them. Where are they?" I says, "While we are at it, of course we can go visit these camps. Both of you gentlemen speak Russian. I would like to have one or both of you accompany us to one of these camps so that we won't be hornswoggled and necessarily have to depend upon the Soviet interpreters."

"Well," they said, "you had better ask the trade union people what is the location of these places."

I said, "I am asking you. You are the American Embassy here and I am asking you the location of some of these slave labor camps. Do you know of any?"

And they said, "No."

Mr. ARENS. Now, Mr. Bridges, the Committee on Un-American Activities solicited via the State Department a report on the essence of that conversation and was advised, in essence, that the American Embassy officers simply told you, sir, to request the Communist Soviet officials to conduct you to any maximum security prison labor camps, the existence of which is common knowledge in the Soviet Union, and more specifically that you specify the areas of Norilsk, N-o-r-i-l-s-k, or Magadan, M-a-g-a-d-a-n.

While you are under oath, would you kindly tell us whether or not the information which I am now imparting to you is a substantially correct summary of the information given to you by the Embassy officials?

Mr. BRIDGES. Back up a minute. That is quite a statement.

Let's start all over again, piece by piece. I will tell you. The age of McCarthy isn't dead yet. I don't want to cause any poor fellows overseas to lose their job.

Mr. ARENS. While you are under oath——

Mr. BRIDGES. Don't remind me I am under oath, I have been under oath lots of times.

Mr. ARENS. Whether or not the American Embassy officials in Moscow told you that if you wanted to see slave labor camps you should request the officials there to direct you to any maximum security prison labor camps, the existence of which are acknowledged by the Soviets.

Mr. BRIDGES. No. Just a minute now. Wait a minute.

The way you put it is he gets it all twisted up.

I related what happened. They said, "On slave labor camps they have more or less been changed, et cetera, and they call them prison camps now and if you want to see one of them, well, you had better ask the people you are dealing with."

Mr. ARENS. Did you ask the people you were dealing with about seeing these prison camps?

Mr. BRIDGES. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Did you see any of them?

Mr. BRIDGES. No.

Just a minute. Understand, I went back and I said, "I'll let you know later on," because I wanted to take these two Russian speaking gentlemen from the Embassy to go along with us and, when they couldn't go, I thought "what the hell is the use?"

Mr. ARENS. Did you make any specific request to see prison labor camps in the Norilsk or Magadan area?

Mr. BRIDGES. I don't even know what those names mean.

Mr. ARENS. Did you make any request to see prison camps in any specific area?

Mr. BRIDGES. Furthermore, the gentlemen in the Embassy did not mention those names to me.

Mr. ARENS. Did the gentlemen in the Embassy direct your attention to the problem of prison labor in the Russian crab industry?

Mr. BRIDGES. Sure did. I have got it all written down.

That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Did that just slip your memory a few minutes ago?

Mr. BRIDGES. No, that's a special point. If you had not mentioned it, I would have. Let me tell you about that. Want to hear it?

Mr. ARENS. Yes; please, sir.

Mr. BRIDGES. All right. In effect, as I recall it, I said, "Look, there is one place we have heard of."

I asked them "Wait a while." Hearing and knowing is two different things.

"Well, this is our information."

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman, may I clarify something? I may be wrong and correct me if I am wrong, but I remember that you said a few minutes ago that these men in the U.S. Embassy said that they had no knowledge as to the location of any slave labor camps or prison camps.

Mr. BRIDGES. That is right, Mr. Scherer. I pressed the point. Understand, I want to be fair about this. They said that the nature of the camps had been changed, that with the end of the Stalin era they call them prison camps now.

Mr. SCHERER. You said that they told you they had no knowledge of the location of any of these camps, whether you call them prison camps, slave labor camps, or whatever you call them. That is not what they say they said.

Mr. BRIDGES. Well, I am trying to get it right here. When they said that they had been changed to prison camps, I said "All right. Where are they? We will go and see them. Will you come with us?"

They said, "Go and ask your friends for those locations."

That is what I don't want to disagree with them. I know what I know and I know what my notes show.

Mr. ARENS. Did they discuss with you what they call closed areas in the Soviet Union?

Mr. BRIDGES. How about getting back to the crab?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir. I thought you concluded on that.

Mr. BRIDGES. Oh, I hadn't

Mr. ARENS. Did they point out——

Mr. BRIDGES. I hadn't even gotten started.

Mr. ARENS. Excuse me, then.

Let me pose a question, if you please, sir. Did they call your attention to slave labor used in the crab industry?

Mr. BRIDGES. They said, according to their information these were the circumstances and that we had a law or a regulation in America here where, because of the nature of labor used in these crab canneries, that that crab was barred from importation into the United States. I was very interested because amongst some of the members of the union I represent fishermen and I said, "Well, I have to admit that a lot of our members would be for that particular law, maybe for different reasons." But I said, "let's have this information. This is interesting. This is something I didn't even know about."

So we copied down or he copied down in his handwriting the location of this cannery.

Well, inasmuch as we only had 2 or 3 days there and inasmuch as it was in Vladivostok, that was a little too far away for us to attempt to visit so we had to exclude it.

Mr. ARENS. May we get this record clear of this instance. Did the American Embassy officials make known to you their knowledge of the existence of slave labor or prison labor camps in Soviet Russia?

Mr. BRIDGES. Only in the sense that I told you.

Mr. ARENS. Did you, after your return from your trip, make a speech out in San Francisco before the Commonwealth Club?

Mr. BRIDGES. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. After you made your speech, was there a question and answer period?

Mr. BRIDGES. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. I should like to read you what we have as an excerpt of part of your answer to certain questions.

Mr. BRIDGES. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. (reading):

We went up to the American Embassy, two economists there speaking Russian, and said, "Now look, we are here, we're in like Flynn, as it were. We can go any place and see anything we want to see. You people both speak Russian, come along with us so that we don't get hornswoggled." Well, they didn't exactly say no, but they didn't say yes either, and we asked these questions about strikes, slave labor camps, how free the labor movement was, come along and help us ask the workers questions, so that we don't have to believe our translators. Well, they said they would have to give 48 hours' notice to the Soviet Government and it would look like we suspected them of not telling the truth. And I said, "That is just what I am saying. That is the purpose of this." Well, it didn't develop. I go to the same Embassy and I say, "Listen. We want to know about these slave labor camps. Now, we have been promised by these people, all big people in the Soviet trade union movement, they will take us anywhere and let us see anything we want to see. I want the address of a couple of slave labor camps. And I want you people to come along because you speak Russian."

They said, "Sorry, we don't know of any."

Now, is what I have just read you a true and correct reproduction of the statements you made before the Commonwealth Club on March 20, 1959?

(Document marked "Bridges Exhibit No. 8," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. BRIDGES. What's the difference between those statements and what I am saying here?

(For purpose of comparison, the Memorandum of Conversation prepared in Moscow on February 9, 1959, by Messrs. Winters and Harmstone of the United States Embassy follows:)

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

Date: February 9, 1959.

Participants:

Mr. Harry R. Bridges, President—International Longshoremen's Union

Mr. William H. Glazier, Mr. Bridges' assistant

FSR George P. Winters

FSO Richard C. Harmstone

Messrs. Bridges and Glazier came to the Embassy about noon on February 9, and asked to see the Embassy's economic officers. They had arrived in Moscow the previous day, they said.

Mr. Bridges went somewhat out of his way to stress the fact that this was his first visit to the Soviet Union, also that neither he nor Mr. Glazier spoke the language; hence their desire to benefit from the economic knowledge of the reporting officers and their hope that either or both of the latter might accompany them on some of their meetings or tours with the Soviets, assuming this could be arranged. Bridges was promised all possible cooperation. Interestingly enough, Bridges telephoned back about two hours after leaving the Embassy to report that arrangements had been made to visit the port of Odessa the following day. They were departing by air at 3 a.m., returning from Odessa about 6 p.m. following a day in the port. He had, he said, raised with the Soviet trade union officials the question of inviting an Embassy officer to accompany them and these officials had promptly acceded to the request. They had, however, indicated that certain problems concerning "closed areas" might require resolution between the Embassy and Soviet Foreign Ministry.

Bridges was told that the matter would be looked into and we would call him back at the hotel. Following a discussion of this matter with the Minister-Counselor, a phone call was put through to Bridges, who was informed that the Embassy deemed it advisable to adhere to the Soviet rule requiring forty-eight hours' advance notice for trips outside the Moscow perimeter. This, for example, we had previously done on the occasion of the recent visit of the U.S. Electric Power Delegation to the U.S.S.R., despite the fact that an Embassy officer was specifically invited by the Minister of Electric Stations. Bridges expressed disappointment, but seemed to accept the logic of the situation.

A second matter stressed by Bridges was his concern with the problem of "slave" or prison labor camps in the U.S.S.R. "Could the Embassy," he asked, provide him "with the specific location of a known labor camp," which he in turn could present to the Soviet authorities with his request to investigate conditions in said camp. This question was fielded with the generalization that much less is known about such camps today since the post-Beria "reforms". He could, however, we suggested, simply request a visit to any "maximum security" prison labor camp, the general existence of which is acknowledged by the Soviets. Moreover, he might further specify a camp in some such well-known area as Norilsk or Magadan, although the time required for any serious investigation in such distant areas might take them considerably beyond their indicated departure date, only two days hence.

Finally, it was pointed out by the reporting officers that the problem of prison labor in the crab industry marks an area in which the U.S. Government had taken action to prohibit imports of crabmeat. The efforts of a previous economic officer of the Embassy were related, who had expressed to the Soviet authorities his preparedness to travel to any crabbing industry installation at any time; thereafter to report to his government the labor conditions observed there. As no response had been received by the Embassy to this offer, here it seemed was a specific question which Bridges might fruitfully bring up in his conversations with the Soviets along this line. Bridges expressed great interest in this possibility, pointing out that some of his union members were employed in this branch of industry, and that he and Glazier would not hesitate to extend their stay in the Soviet Union if provided the opportunity to really look into this "slave labor" business.

Bridges alluded to the poor treatment accorded him and Glazier by our Embassy in Athens, although we were unable to elicit the specifics of the charges. In Prague, apparently, the pair was received more cordially, presumably as they were then being received in Moscow. The most important information turned up by these "investigators" in Prague (presumably not from an Embassy source) concerned the problem experienced by the Czech Government in getting people to settle in its border areas with Germany. The reason for the difficulty, it turned out, was a series of open and illicit radio transmissions from Germany which counseled the Czechs not to return to these areas as the West Germans were soon coming back to take them over.

Turning to the question of the present role and status of Soviet trade unions, the reporting officers stated their strong impression that the average Soviet worker neither thinks much of, or expects much from his trade union today; also, that the present regime was experiencing no little difficulty in its efforts to regenerate some enthusiasm.

In order to give Bridges and Glazier some idea of this attitude of Soviet citizens towards their trade unions, one officer read out loud some of the exchanges between members of a Soviet audience and the speaker at a public lecture on Soviet trade unions in Moscow last year. The exchanges are reproduced below.

"Q. All you said about widening union rights was said years ago by Lenin. Why weren't his views carried out?

"A. There were many conditions that interfered; chiefly, there were not enough members in the unions until the present time.

"Q. Why do we have wages of 230 rubles a month and 12,030 a month?

"A. N. S. Khrushchev already has spoken about this. In addition, I have mentioned the 500 ruble minimum wage to be introduced under the new plan.

"Q. Tell us about unions abroad, particularly about the Yugoslav workers' councils.

"A. There is not time to discuss foreign unions. Regarding Yugoslav workers' councils, we have objectively studied them and decided that they were unnecessary and besides, would only serve to weaken the existing factory union committee.

"Q. If the unions are democratic bodies, why are there many high union officials who have not been elected to their positions by union congresses? (Here a voice from the audience called out, 'They are recommended by the Central Committee of the CPSU.')

"A. That is true. These people are recommended by the CC of the CPSU, and there is no reason why they should not serve as union officials."

Bridges said these questions were a "healthy sign". They were the same type of questions members of his union put to their leaders. As for other unions, and the character of the democratic process prevailing in them, "nobody has any questions about the way Meany gets elected", said Bridges.

Glazier was handed an article to read on Soviet trade unions, which appeared in the December 1958 issue of the ICFTU publication *Spotlight*. Glazier read the article, which is quite hostile in tone, finding it "very interesting".

In discussing the possibilities for increasing the Soviet labor force, one of the reporting officers observed that a reduction in the size of the Soviet militia would release many able-bodied men for employment in industry. Bridges said he would not raise the question of the size of the Soviet police force in his talks with Soviet officials as they might inquire about the U.S. police force which, in his opinion, is enormous.

Other more theoretical topics were touched upon briefly in the course of the conversation; these included the Soviet method of calculating labor productivity, possible elimination of supplements to wages of non-native personnel in the Soviet East, the problem of reducing the work week without reducing production, etc.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly answer the question?

Mr. BRIDGES. I have answered the best I could. I have told you.

Mr. ARENS. Just a moment, sir. Is what I have read you a true and correct statement of what you said before the Commonwealth Club on March 20, 1959? (Referring to quotation appearing on p. 711.)

Mr. BRIDGES. Let's read it.

(The document was handed to the witness.)

Mr. BRIDGES. Is this title correct, "Taken From Tape of Questions and Answers"?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. BRIDGES. I see. I would say generally this is true.

Mr. ARENS. Is this part particularly true that I read you?

Mr. BRIDGES. Don't lift anything out of context now.

Mr. ARENS. If I lift it out of context you correct me.

Mr. BRIDGES. I sure will.

Mr. ARENS. Did the American Embassy officials, when you asked them about slave labor camps, say, and I quote specifically, "*They said 'Sorry, we don't know of any'.*"?

Mr. BRIDGES. That is what I said there. Now, understand, in this exchange that was—I was speaking there. I was trying to make the questions brief and this compresses it into just that answer and all I have done here is elaborate it; but when you get down to the essence of it when I compressed and said, "I want to see a slave labor camp," they said, "*We don't know of any*"; that is right.

Mr. ARENS. Didn't the American Embassy officials tell you particularly about prison labor camps in the crab industry?

Mr. BRIDGES. They told me about the crab industry based on their information, yes.

Mr. ARENS. Did they tell you about prison labor camps in the crab industry?

Mr. BRIDGES. They did in a sense.

Mr. ARENS. Did they tell you?

Mr. BRIDGES. I think there is a big distinction here, Mr. Counsel. My understanding and my recollection of what they said, they said, "Look. There is another place you might go and visit because we have a law against importing the crab canned in that place because it employs slave labor," meaning here is a place where at least we have gone so far as to pass a law because it has got slave labor. There is a place, maybe the kind you are looking for, and you ought to go and see it.

That sets that crab cannery apart from the other things.

Mr. ARENS. Did the American Embassy officials tell you to ask to see any maximum security prison labor camp, the existence of which is acknowledged by the Soviets?

Mr. BRIDGES. Maybe they didn't use the words "maximum security," but they certainly used the words "prison camp" and said, "This is what has happened to the slave labor camps. They have turned them into prison camps."

We asked, "All right. Where are they? We will go and see them."

Mr. SCHERER. You mean they have changed the name, since Khrushchev took over, from slave labor camps to prison camps?

Mr. BRIDGES. This is my impression of what they are saying. The way they describe it there have been quite a few changes which we know about since the Stalin era and all the rest of it that a lot of rules have changed and, from what I understood, too, the Embassy people to say, a lot of people had been released. There was much more.

Mr. SCHERER. My specific question was, they now call the slave labor camps, since this change you are telling us about, prison camps?

Mr. BRIDGES. That is not what they told us. With the explanations that I have given here that is what they said. I am trying to quote these gentlemen correctly because obviously, they seemed to me to be trying to cooperate.

Mr. ARENS. You did not tell the Commonwealth Club, however, about their announcements to you about the prison labor camp in the crab industry, did you?

Mr. BRIDGES. No. I didn't say it not because I was trying to conceal anything. I only had a certain amount of time and I was trying to cooperate with the people in the Commonwealth Club and answer questions as quickly as I could.

Mr. ARENS. You did not tell the members of the Commonwealth Club about the American Embassy personnel telling you that if you want to find slave labor camps just ask to see the maximum security prison labor camps, the general existence of which is acknowledged by the Soviets, did you?

Mr. BRIDGES. To accommodate you, as soon as I return to San Francisco, I will ask the officers of the Commonwealth Club to have another whirl at it and I will tell them next time.

Mr. ARENS. When you see the officers of the Commonwealth Club, will you display to them a copy of this map you saw on the table of the American Embassy officials when you were there, which points out dozens of slave labor camps and with a notation at the bottom "A reward of \$1,000 will be paid by the Free Trade Union Committee for evidence disproving the authenticity of the Soviet documents here reproduced."

Did you see on the table at the American Embassy in Moscow a map or a chart similar to the one which I now display to you showing the existence of numerous slave labor camps in Soviet Russia?

Mr. BRIDGES. No.

Mr. ARENS. I beg your pardon?

Mr. BRIDGES. No; not that I can recall.

Mr. ARENS. What was the map that you saw there?

Mr. BRIDGES. I wish I had have.

Mr. ARENS. What was the map you saw?

Mr. BRIDGES. I didn't say I saw a map.

Mr. ARENS. Did you see a chart there?

Mr. BRIDGES. No.

Mr. ARENS. What did you see in the nature of documentary evidence displayed to you or available to you there in the American Embassy in Soviet Russia with respect to slave-labor camps?

Mr. BRIDGES. There was some literature and papers in English. I didn't pick them up and read them. I just saw "The figures tell." The whole desk was covered with English and Russian papers.

Mr. ARENS. Did these papers relate to slave labor camps?

Mr. BRIDGES. I saw one of them. It was an ICFTU publication with some reference to it.

Mr. ARENS. Did you read that publication?

Mr. BRIDGES. No.

Mr. ARENS. You went there for the purpose of inquiring about the existence of slave-labor camps, did you not?

Mr. BRIDGES. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. And you saw a publication there by the ICFTU, telling about slave-labor camps; did you not?

Mr. BRIDGES. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. But you did not pick it up and read it; is that correct?

Mr. BRIDGES. Why should I? I have read so much junk from that outfit that why should I waste my time on a trip where I was short of time reading it there and, for my money, that is probably junk, too.

My information doesn't check with what they say.

Now, I might be wrong but I am entitled to an opinion based on what I saw. And if that is the case, listen, what are the reasons we were in the Soviet Union? Mr. Chairman——

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. BRIDGES. In view of passport legislation, we saw all kinds of people traipsing around Moscow and the Soviet Union from this country and every other country.

The AFL-CIO forbids any trade-union delegations to go to the Soviet Union. We observed a rule in our trip overseas that when we couldn't go somewhere and see anything we had the right to assume the worst.

Now, belly dancers, musicians, now soon the Vice President, I hope is going to be visiting the Soviet Union. The labor movement of this country forbids unions to send official delegations to the Soviet Union. I think it is because they are afraid that the unions will find out some of the truth.

I am not trying to conceal any of the bad things, including slave-labor camps, their existence or nonexistence.

Mr. ARENS. May I read to you, sir, now, in view of your observation, a "Statement by the AFL-CIO Executive Council on Contacts with 'Trade Unions' in Totalitarian Countries," issued in San Juan, P.R., February 20, 1959:

The myth that the Soviet Union is a workers' state is the constantly repeated claim of Communist propaganda. It is on the basis of this deception that the Soviet leaders address their appeals for fraternity and support to the trade unions, the organizations of workers in other countries.

The Soviet leaders openly proclaim the domination of their own so-called trade unions by the Communist Party. They rarely trouble to disguise the subservience of these so-called trade unions to the Soviet Government. In fact, they often claim that this "privileged" position is something which trade unions in other countries should envy. Short of using military force, the major weapon of the Communists in their campaign against the Free West is the subversion of trade unions and other organizations of workers.

Under the false front of peaceful coexistence and alleged departures from the harshness of the Stalinist regime, the present leaders of the Soviet Union are renewing their efforts to win moral respectability for their regime and to mislead the workers of the free world into accepting these state company unions as bona fide organizations of the workers.

The Executive Council of the AFL-CIO, therefore, reiterates its opposition to the idea of free labor sending delegations to any country which prohibits free trade unions, outlaws all free trade union activities and penalizes workers for advocating free trade unionism—whether such country be Communist or Fascist or any other totalitarian hue.

Mr. BRIDGES. What's the question with respect to that document?

Mr. ARENS. In view of your observation respecting the position of certain labor organizations on this question of observing slave labor camps, I was calling your attention to the statement of the AFL-CIO.

Mr. BRIDGES. I am glad to see a congressional committee—that is what the lawyers call a self-serving statement.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly tell us, sir, did you inquire of the Communist officials in Moscow as to the conditions upon which personnel of the U.S. Embassy could accompany you on the trips to the slave labor camps?

Mr. BRIDGES. Give me it again.

Mr. ARENS. Did you inquire of the Communist officials in Moscow as to the conditions under which American officials could accompany you on your proposed tour of the slave labor camps?

Mr. BRIDGES. I was talking to trade unionists.

Mr. ARENS. Did you make a solicitation of the Communist officials, whether they be trade unionists or officials of the Government, for permission for American Embassy officials to accompany you?

Mr. BRIDGES. I asked the trade union officials that we were meeting with would it be all right, and they said "yes."

Mr. ARENS. Did they tell you that it was, under their policy, necessary for an official notice to be given 48 hours in advance?

Mr. BRIDGES. I had already been told. I was told that by the gentlemen in the Embassy.

Mr. ARENS. Did the gentlemen in the Embassy, to your knowledge, make any solicitation at your behest in order to accompany you on the proposed tour of the slave labor camps?

Mr. BRIDGES. According to what they told me, yes, sir. We were going to Odessa that evening and when we didn't make any headway on the slave labor camps, I asked would they accompany us to Odessa where we were going to talk to the workers, the longshoremen of Odessa. They said they would let me know.

So we had all the arrangements made. We were going by plane, leaving around midnight, and I talked to the gentlemen at the Embassy around 6 o'clock and they explained, and it made sense to me, that by the regulations in the Soviet Union they had to give 48 hours' notice before they moved out, that is under Soviet regulation, before they moved away from the Embassy over a certain distance, and that they apparently had discussed this matter with their superior—I don't think it was the Ambassador—and that, the way they explained it to me, they didn't want to ask this favor of the Soviet Government under these circumstances.

The CHAIRMAN. May I get this straight? From what I understand you to say, the officials of this Government must obtain permission, 48 hours in advance, before they move out of our Embassy?

Mr. BRIDGES. My understanding, Mr. Chairman, was that to travel as far as Odessa, which was quite a ways, although they could move to certain distances, but a trip of that kind required 48 hours' notice to the Soviet Government and official permission of the Soviet Government to make a trip of that distance and that they apparently had conferred with some of their superior officers in the Embassy and a decision had been reached that under the circumstances now, I can draw my own conclusions. I am relating a conversation that, under

the circumstances, they did not wish to ask an exception to the rules to make this trip. Therefore they couldn't go with us.

Mr. ARENS. Now, sir, when you were concerned about finding information respecting slave labor camps in the Soviet Union, were you aware of the fact that a survey was conducted in 1953 under the auspices of a United Nations committee (Ad Hoc Committee on Forced Labour, UN and ILO) by three eminent jurists, one from India, one from Norway, and one from Peru, and they published a study under the auspices of the United Nations on forced labor and in that study the report found that the Soviet Union and its satellites used forced labor as a means of political coercion and that it existed "in its fullest form" and on a scale of "considerable economic importance." Were you cognizant of that study and that report when you walked into the American Embassy and asked about the existence of slave labor camps?

Mr. BRIDGES. I was trying to conduct my own survey in conjunction with the American Embassy.

Mr. ARENS. Were you aware of the existence of this report by the United Nations?

Mr. BRIDGES. I don't know if I was or not. It wouldn't make any difference to me if I was.

I was trying to conduct my own survey and I put much more faith in a trade union survey, so all I was trying to do to get it straight, I tried to explain, is that I went to the U.S. Embassy and tried to join with them to conduct our own survey of slave labor camps, and I have related the story here of what success we had.

Mr. ARENS. Did they say, "*Sorry, we don't know of any.*"

Mr. BRIDGES. That has been answered.

(Document, marked "Bridges Exhibit No. 11," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Now, sir, did you, while you were in the Soviet Union give any press interviews?

Mr. BRIDGES. That is right. Once again a press interview? We had a discussion, with a trade union bulletin, I think it was.

Mr. ARENS. Did you have any general press interviews or was it only with the publications of Communist labor organizations?

Mr. BRIDGES. What does that mean?

Mr. ARENS. What publication did you have an interview with?

Mr. BRIDGES. I don't know.

Mr. ARENS. Was it Trud?

Mr. BRIDGES. If that is the publication of the Transport Workers Union, then that is probably the one.

Mr. ARENS. Now, during the course of your interview with this publication of the Communist trade union organization——

Mr. BRIDGES. Just a minute, Mr. Counsel. You keep on making these descriptions and I hope this record is clear and I want to make it clear that these are your designations.

Mr. ARENS. We will make it clear in a few minutes because I am going to get into a question about the control.

Mr. BRIDGES. What was the last time you were in Moscow?

Mr. ARENS. Now, sir, did you in your interview with Trud make the observation that the Soviet trade unions are more democratic than many American trade unions?

Mr. BRIDGES. I did. Well, maybe that is not the exact words. I am not going to go by your translations, et cetera, but I made a statement along those lines.

The answer is "Yes." Do you want me to explain it or is this committee suddenly boosting the democracy of American trade unions?

I have got a lot to say on that if you want me to open up.

The CHAIRMAN. We are not going to spend the afternoon talking about the democracy of trade unions or the lack of it.

Go ahead, Mr. Arens.

Mr. ARENS. In the course of your study of the trade unions in the Soviet Union, was your attention directed to the trade union statutes and by-laws of the Soviet Union which read as follows:

Soviet trade unions carry on all their work under the leadership of the Communist Party, the organizing and directing force of Soviet society. The trade unions of the U.S.S.R. rally the working masses around the party of Lenin and Stalin.

Did you have your attention directed to that statute?

Mr. BRIDGES. I had my attention directed to a copy of the constitution of the unions printed in English. I don't know what you have there but if you get a copy of the constitution itself, an official document of the trade union, I was talking to at least the transport union and there is some language, not exactly the same as that, but something along the lines where it says that "this union works in connection with Communist policy," or something like that.

I think the best document would be the official copy of the constitution itself.

(Document marked "Bridges Exhibit No. 12," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Did you have your attention directed while you were in the Soviet Union and while you were in the process of issuing this statement about the democracy of the Soviet trade unions, to the Soviet trade union bylaws—

Mr. BRIDGES. Just a minute. Let me stop you.

You asked me a part of a question a while ago where my answer in effect was "Look. In some respects after studying this question, the framework of the trade unions, the way they function, their elections, et cetera," I said, "I find them more democratic in this way than many American unions I know."

Now, that was my statement. You are chopping it up and lifting it out of its general context.

I have already told you if you want me to explain further why I said that, I am willing to go.

Mr. ARENS. Were the trade unions in the Soviet Union free public organizations?

Mr. BRIDGES. They are guaranteed. That is the way they are described under the law as far as I know.

Mr. ARENS. And did you describe to the Commonwealth Club in San Francisco your discovery that the labor unions in Russia are free public organizations?

Mr. BRIDGES. I think I did because that is the way the law reads governing trade unions.

Mr. ARENS. They are free public organizations?

Mr. BRIDGES. That is the language of the law, Mr. Arens.

Mr. ARENS. Did they also call your attention to that part of the statutes and bylaws requiring every trade union member—

- a. To strictly observe State and labor discipline;
- b. To guard and strengthen public Socialist property as the sacred inviolable basis of the Soviet system, as the source of wealth and power of the Motherland, as the source of all the workers' well being and cultured life.

Did they call your attention to that statute?

Mr. BRIDGES. I think the language, not the same words but generally, is in their constitution.

Are you asking me if it is there or are you asking me what I think of it?

Mr. ARENS. You were making a study there and later reported to the Commonwealth Club your findings and you alluded to some statute. I was only inquiring whether or not they directed your attention to these other statutes.

Mr. BRIDGES. Yes; I got a copy of the laws and I got a copy of the constitution of the unions and I studied it.

Mr. ARENS. Did you meet George Morris while you were in Moscow?

Mr. BRIDGES. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Who is George Morris?

Mr. BRIDGES. George Morris. If he is not now or wasn't at that time he used to be the correspondent for the New York Daily Worker. That is the Communist Party paper.

Mr. ARENS. What was he doing in Moscow?

Mr. BRIDGES. I don't know. I think he was covering the congress over there.

Mr. ARENS. Did you confer with him respecting the trade unions in the Soviet Union?

Mr. BRIDGES. No.

Mr. SCHERER. May I ask if you referred to George Morris?

Mr. ARENS. M-o-r-r-i-s.

Mr. SCHERER. Correspondent for the Daily Worker?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. Does your investigation show whether Morris obtained a passport since the Supreme Court decision of June 16, 1958?

Mr. ARENS. It does; yes, sir. He has one.

Are you cognizant of the articles which George Morris has been writing in the Worker respecting the Soviet trade unions?

Mr. BRIDGES. No.

Mr. ARENS. Are you aware of the statements he has been making showing the intimate connection between the trade unions in the Soviet Union and the Communist Party?

Mr. BRIDGES. No.

Look. I have known George Morris, I guess, since 1934. Now, I am not going to ask George Morris about trade unions. I am a trade unionist. If I want to know something about trade unions I just figure I will go to the trade unionists.

I met George Morris and we hoisted a couple of drinks and that was that. I even thought that was allowed.

Mr. ARENS. Did you, while you were in Moscow, give an interview which was carried in a Canadian paper, The Canadian Tribune, respecting the trade union movement?

Mr. BRIDGES. Did I give a which?

Mr. ARENS. Did you give an interview?

Mr. BRIDGES. To save you time, the only interview is the one you just referred to. There wasn't any other.

You can call it an interview if you like, talking about discussion with the trade unionists and these members of their trade union staff, that is, their newspaper staff. There was no other interview.

Mr. ARENS. Did you make a public statement of attribution to yourself while you were in Moscow to the effect that it would be good if American trade unionists and the AFL-CIO would visit the Soviet Union—they would find out that everything told the working people in the United States about the U.S.S.R. is pure lying and slanderous propaganda.

Did you make that statement?

Mr. BRIDGES. I don't recall making the statement in those words. I said this, if you want me to repeat from memory: that with all the other people visiting over there I thought that the trade unions should send some trade unionists over and help to correct what I thought is a lot of misleading information that has been poured out about the people and workers of that country.

(Document marked "Bridges Exhibit No. 13," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. How about the slave labor camps? Is that all lying, slanderous propaganda?

Mr. BRIDGES. Including that, too. Instead of depending upon anything, anybody else, send a trade union delegation over to see if they can have any better luck than we did.

I said that, that is right, and I am still saying it now. Maybe the committee will join with me and let us jointly suggest to the American Federation of Labor to send some trade union delegations over to find those slave labor camps.

Isn't that a good suggestion?

The CHAIRMAN. Just a moment, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. BRIDGES. How about the committee going over? I don't like congressional junkets, but I think that would be a good one.

The CHAIRMAN. It is not necessary for the A. F. of L. to make such a survey. They have already made it.

Mr. BRIDGES. They have?

The CHAIRMAN. Here it is.

Mr. BRIDGES. After all, Mr. Chairman, with all the nice things that congressional committees say about what happens in the labor movement, I am a little surprised to find so much championing of the A. F. of L. here.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, when you are saying "championing, you are speaking of me because I happen to have a very good labor record.

Mr. BRIDGES. I am not questioning that. Maybe I myself might disagree, Mr. Chairman, but I am not questioning that at the moment.

My whole purpose in what I was saying there, and I said it there and I am saying it here, is that instead of boycotting a country and forbidding trade unionists to go over, the AFL-CIO ought to send some people over and I hope you give them passports. I went to my own membership.

The CHAIRMAN. If you got a passport, certainly anyone in the A. F. of L. ought to be getting one.

Mr. BRIDGES. That is why I wonder what I am doing here, Mr. Chairman. You are proposing to pass legislation to prevent tainted people from going overseas. It seems to me I am about your worst subject. If I can't get a passport after two trips to the Supreme Court and a half a dozen hearings giving me a clean bill of health, what chance is there for the average citizen? What am I doing here?

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Bridges, did you in your conversation with the officials in the American Embassy in Moscow ask them about the attitude of Soviet citizens toward their trade unions?

Mr. BRIDGES. Yes.

No; I asked the Soviet citizens——

Mr. ARENS. I said did you ask at the American Embassy about the attitude of Soviet citizens toward their trade unions?

Mr. BRIDGES. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. While you were at the American Embassy in Moscow, did they read you a portion of certain exchanges at a public lecture on Soviet trade unions which was held in Moscow in 1958?

Mr. BRIDGES. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Did you tell the Commonwealth Club about this?

Mr. BRIDGES. No.

Mr. ARENS. Let me read this to you and see if this is a true and correct account of some of the exchanges which the U.S. Embassy officer read to you while you were in Moscow, which took place between members of a Soviet audience and a speaker at a public lecture on Soviet trade unions in 1958:

Question. All you said about widening union rights was said years ago by Lenin. Why weren't his views carried out?

Answer. There were many conditions that interfered; chiefly, there were not enough members in the unions until the present time.

Question. Why do we have wages of 230 rubles a month?

Answer. N. S. Khrushchev already has spoken about this. In addition, I have mentioned the 500 ruble minimum wage to be introduced under the new plan.

Question. Tell us about unions abroad, particularly about the Yugoslav Workers' Councils.

Answer. There is not time to discuss foreign unions. Regarding Yugoslav Workers' Councils, we have objectively studied them and decided they were unnecessary and besides, would only serve to weaken the existing factory union committee.

Question. If the unions are democratic bodies, why are there many high union officials who have not been elected to their positions by union congresses?

(Here a voice from the audience called out, "They are recommended by the Central Committee of the CPSU.")

Answer. That is true. These people are recommended by the CC of the CPSU, and there is no reason why they should not serve as union officials.

Now, Mr. Bridges, did the American Embassy officials in Moscow read you word for word the language which I just read to you?

Mr. BRIDGES. It might not have been word for word, but, as far as I can recall, it is almost word for word and they read it.

(Document marked "Bridges Exhibit No. 14," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Did you make any report of this either in your article, "On the Beam," carried in the Dispatcher, or in your interview with the Communist papers, or in your speech before the Commonwealth Club in San Francisco?

Mr. BRIDGES. I didn't before the Commonwealth Club, as far as I can recall, but I will certainly tell you that I didn't say anywhere what I wanted to say. I didn't have the time there but I will certainly be willing for a return appearance.

Mr. ARENS. Now, would you kindly answer the question: Did you make any reference—

Mr. BRIDGES. No, I told you I didn't.

Mr. ARENS. —In either your interview with the Communist paper, your article "On the Beam" in the Dispatcher of the ILWU, or before the Commonwealth Club?

Mr. BRIDGES. I don't know. I have answered on the Commonwealth Club. The answer is "No".

Second, the article "On the Beam," I don't know. I can't recall. We wrote a lot of stuff; and third, I don't recall whether I mentioned it in the interview.

My recollection is that I did.

Now, why don't you explain just what that is all about, Mr. Counsel, because that is not a point to illustrate what you are saying.

Mr. ARENS. The query outstanding is: Why did you not explain what it was all about when the Embassy officials called your attention to the colloquy existing in a Soviet people's organization, their protesting the fact that the union officials are not elected, but they are designated by the Central Committee of the Communist Party?

Now, Mr. Bridges, in connection with that, did you inquire or discuss with the trade union leaders in the Soviet Union, the new drive which is now in vogue in the Soviet trade unions for the establishment of workers' courts in the thousands of factories throughout the Soviet Union?

Mr. BRIDGES. Don't move so fast. Back up to where we were. I will answer this one in a minute, the one you just asked me, but stay on the other one first.

Look. One of the reasons we didn't mention this is that they were the two gentlemen in the Embassy who attended this lecture. This was a lecture, a meeting, a public meeting and in the course of this lecture that was taking place. This is in Moscow, mind you, where there is no free speech and there were these trade unionists getting together and they were nailing this government official with these questions and the questions were being asked and answered and the Embassy people were putting this forward as some indication that the lid was coming off, there was more freedom for the people, in other words. So this is the meeting of this here.

Mr. ARENS. To your mind, does it indicate that there is additional freedom when the leader of the trade union movement answers a question protesting the lack of democracy in the union groups by saying that the officials of the union are designated and recommended by the Communist hierarchy, and therefore they are properly installed as leaders of the union?

Mr. BRIDGES. All I know about that is that this was told to us by the representative of the Embassy. That is all I know about it.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Bridges, did you discuss this with the trade union leaders?

Mr. BRIDGES. Is it important, Mr. Counsel, that they were telling us this as a part of our inquiries on slave labor camps where they said

there had been changes made as well as to illustrate that some of the workers were complaining about how the trade unions were run. That was their point.

Mr. ARENS. Did you regard this as an important conversation?

Mr. BRIDGES. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Then why did you not relate it to your Commonwealth Club audience, and why did you not use it in your articles in the Dispatch, and why did you not allude to it in your interviews with the Communist papers in Europe if it is an important element?

Mr. BRIDGES. Because ever since I have been back I have been speaking and writing reams. I am not a writer. I am a longshoreman. I am a trade unionist. Give me time. I have only been back a few weeks. Now, that is the answer.

Mr. ARENS. All right.

Mr. BRIDGES. Is it settled? That is the answer.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Bridges, did you discuss with the trade union leaders in the Soviet Union the drive which is now in vogue to establish the workers' courts in the thousands of factories throughout the Soviet Union?

Mr. BRIDGES. No.

Mr. ARENS. Did you make any inquiry about that?

Mr. BRIDGES. The Embassy people didn't call them that.

Mr. ARENS. Did you make any inquiry respecting the workers' courts which are being established now in the thousands of factories throughout the Soviet Union?

Mr. BRIDGES. What are the courts for?

Mr. ARENS. For the purpose of stamping out the last vestiges of capitalism according to your colleague, George Morris, labor writer for the Communist weekly, The Worker.

Mr. BRIDGES. Well, I am mixed up. I thought you were referring to something else.

No; we didn't discuss that.

Mr. ARENS. Now, did you learn while you were in the Soviet Union—

Mr. BRIDGES. Understand, Mr. Arens, we were in the Soviet Union 4 days. You are trying to make me out an expert on a country as complex as that country on a 4-day visit.

Mr. SCHERER. I thought you were when I read your speech before the Commonwealth Club.

Mr. BRIDGES. What was that?

Mr. SCHERER. I thought you were an expert when I read your speech.

Mr. BRIDGES. The first statement calls attention to the fact that I am not so stupid as to pose as any kind of an expert on the basis of a visit to any country for 4 days.

If you will read my speech, you will find I start out that way.

Mr. ARENS. Your friend, George Morris, wrote an article under date of March 29, 1959.

Mr. BRIDGES. What has that to do with me?

Wait a while. He has been over there about 6 months.

Mr. ARENS. You went over to make a study of the conditions in the Soviet Union and you have written a series of articles, one appearing every few days.

Mr. BRIDGES. Read my articles. Never mind George Morris. Read my articles. That is what I found out.

Mr. ARENS. The basis of my question is why is it we do not see in your articles, why is it we did not hear in the Commonwealth speech, why is it we did not see in the interviews you gave over in Europe expecting a paradise in the Soviet Union any reference to people's courts which even George Morris in the Communist Worker of March 29, 1959, describes in this language:

* * * the current fast-spreading drive for "friendly courts" and "friendly teams" already organized in thousands of factories and communities to wipe out the "last vestiges of capitalism" * * *. This responsibility, jointly undertaken with the Communist Youth League, takes the form of vigilant teams for the maintenance of order, and "trials" of offenders before factory or youth collectives.

Mr. BRIDGES. Who is calling it a paradise, you? You are getting me mixed up. I try to stay on the beam. Who is calling it a paradise? I am not. It is not my idea of a paradise but you seem to be pounding away trying to get me to say it is a paradise. I haven't said it. I won't say it now. Do you want to get into a few things that I think is wrong with the place?

(Document marked "Bridges Exhibit No. 15," and retained in committee files.)

The CHAIRMAN. Ask a question, Mr. Arens.

Mr. BRIDGES. If you read my articles you will see that when I went to Moscow I thought that the people were more tense and far less relaxed and were in one hell of a hurry.

I made the point that you would never get the workers I represent to work as hard as those people.

Mr. ARENS. When you were in Moscow, did you meet with James Jackson?

Mr. BRIDGES. No, who is that?

Mr. ARENS. Member of the National Committee of the Communist Party of the United States.

Mr. BRIDGES. No.

Mr. ARENS. While you were there, did you meet with Morris Childs?

Mr. BRIDGES. No.

Mr. ARENS. Did you meet with any other of the top Communists from the United States other than with George Morris?

Mr. BRIDGES. The only people that I remember seeing there in addition to Morris, Morris is the only one. Morris was a reporter for the Daily Worker. I have known Morris since 1934. He came around to the hotel. I came back to the hotel. He was waiting there and said "Come in. I need a beer," and we went and had a drink.

Mr. ARENS. Did you inquire while you were in the Soviet Union respecting when the last Soviet trade union had a strike?

Mr. BRIDGES. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. What did you learn?

Mr. BRIDGES. Outside of a few small disputes that were called local walk-offs, there hadn't been any.

Mr. ARENS. Were you quoted correctly in the Daily People's World of March 7, 1959, with reference to strikes by trade unions in the Soviet Union as follows:

"The unions are so powerful there, they have so much to say in the economy of the country that they don't have to strike."

Is that a correct quotation?

Mr. BRIDGES. I would suggest you read my own articles, signed by me, on that subject instead of quoting some newspaper.

Mr. ARENS. Is that a correct quotation of you, however?

Mr. BRIDGES. I don't know. Read the article.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly tell us whether or not in your judgment you were truly quoted in the Daily People's World of March 7th with respect to strikes in the Soviet Union, as follows: that "Unions are so powerful there, they have so much to say in the economy of the country that they don't have to strike."

(Document marked "Bridges Exhibit No. 16," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. BRIDGES. I will say, read the official report that I presented to our convention, to my membership. Do you want the copy of it?

Instead of quoting to me what I have said about that subject from some newspaper, quote the official report I made to my union whom I am responsible for, signed by me. It has been presented to them and passed by them.

Mr. ARENS. We would be very happy to have that.

Mr. BRIDGES. You would? Let's dig it out right now and save you a lot of trouble and save me a lot of thinking. How about it? All right?

Mr. ARENS. Do you have it with you?

Mr. BRIDGES. I sure have.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, could we take about a 2-minute recess?

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will take a recess of 5 minutes.

(Short recess.)

(Members of the committee present at the time of recess: Messrs. Walter, Moulder, Doyle, Willis, Scherer, and Johansen.)

(Members of the committee present at the expiration of the recess: Messrs. Walter, Moulder, Doyle, Scherer, and Johansen.)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be in order.

Go ahead, Mr. Arens.

Mr. ARENS. Did you discuss with the Soviet Union people the forthcoming "Pacific-Asia Dock Conference" to be held in Tokyo?

Mr. BRIDGES. I don't specifically remember. We had 3 or 4 days and notes of constant discussions about trade union matters of all kinds. I am sure it came up. I have no specific recollection.

Mr. ARENS. And where did you go after you left the Soviet Union?

Mr. BRIDGES. Copenhagen, Denmark.

Mr. ARENS. How long were you there?

Mr. BRIDGES. Two or three days.

Mr. ARENS. And did you discuss with the trade union people there the Pacific-Asia conference?

Mr. BRIDGES. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Did you invite any of them to send delegates?

Mr. BRIDGES. Once again I say the invitations were up to the sponsoring committee. That wasn't my job. The reason I tell you about that is that one of the trade union officials we were discussing things with was also the International Transport Federation representative for the Scandinavian countries.

The CHAIRMAN. May I interrupt at this point, Mr. Bridges?

Mr. BRIDGES. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. I notice that most of these conferences were with transport unions.

Mr. BRIDGES. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did this have anything to do with any plans that you and Mr. Hoffa might have for putting together all of the transport workers in the world?

Mr. BRIDGES. Not specifically. I will tell you what it has something to do with.

The CHAIRMAN. You say "not specifically." To what extent was there a plan or is there a plan to organize all the transport workers of the world?

Mr. BRIDGES. None. Do you mean with respect to Mr. Hoffa?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. BRIDGES. I do not know of any plans of that kind with Mr. Hoffa. I thought you were dealing with the trade unionists in Denmark. One of the reasons for our trip, Mr. Chairman, is very simple. It appears that they are trying to make something else out of it, but let me put it this way. Longshoremen are peculiar in the sense that in every country of the world, whatever language, whatever union affiliation or political affiliation, we all work for the same employers.

Now, our factories are ships that move around the world, and I have found out that they generally have the same ideas and talk more or less a common language and have the same approach to their problems.

We have a contract coming up very soon. At least our contracts on the west coast end June 15. We might get into trouble.

The CHAIRMAN. You might what?

Mr. BRIDGES. We might get into trouble in the sense that the men might decide to walk out which they will only do after they vote and we have always followed a policy, and it is a two-way street, that when we get into trouble if we think we need a helping hand from other countries, we ask them not to work the ships.

We send out the word and ask the people in other countries to shut them down, and when they send out word to us in the event of a strike and they ask us, "Don't work those scab ships," we try to return the favor.

Mr. SCHERER. That would be a worldwide economic boycott, would it not?

Mr. BRIDGES. In that sense. We have never been able to do it.

Mr. SCHERER. That is what you are trying to do?

Mr. BRIDGES. No.

Mr. SCHERER. That was the purpose of your visit primarily, was it not? You are not fooling anybody.

Mr. BRIDGES. Now, how can you say I am fooling anybody when I just—

Mr. SCHERER. I said you are not.

Mr. BRIDGES. You mean you?

Mr. SCHERER. That is right.

Mr. BRIDGES. You are not fooling me either. I am not pretending to fool anyone. I am trying to answer questions here. I asked the chairman, "Do you want me to explain the real purpose of the visit?"

I explained it, and then you try to accuse me of fooling people. I am not trying to fool anyone.

Mr. JOHANSEN. If a request not to work ships came from a Communist country, would it be honored as if it came from any other country?

Mr. BRIDGES. Yes.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Would it be honored if you had reasons to believe that it was for purposes directly to the detriment of the United States? Would you still honor it?

Mr. BRIDGES. What kind of a request would that be?

Mr. JOHANSEN. I am asking you if there were such a case in which you had reason to believe that it was to the detriment of the United States, would you honor that request?

Mr. BRIDGES. Let me put it this way. I represent a union. The people that determine the actions in a case like this are the union membership. Unless they have reason to believe that the cause is worthy we couldn't move them.

Now, they have very definite ideas of what is a scab ship or hot ship. I don't conclude from this discussion, these questions, that this committee doesn't know, especially the chairman, who has a good union record, he knows the meaning of scab work or scab ships. Our membership wouldn't do it even if I asked them.

Did I answer the question?

Mr. JOHANSEN. Proceed.

Mr. ARENS. Did you receive a bulletin from the World Federation of Trade Unions, dated July 12, 1950, which called upon all affiliated organizations to "take all immediate and indispensable action to defeat the diabolical plans of the American warmongers and to support their brother unionists in Korea who are fighting alongside the whole Korean people for liberation of their country"?

Mr. BRIDGES. Yes. As far as I recall we did.

Mr. ARENS. And did you, as an individual and as head of ILWU, take a position to try to defeat the plans of the American Government to support the South Koreans?

Mr. BRIDGES. No; I had a position, if you want me to give it to you.

I proposed at the time, and I was thrown into jail for it, that the fighting should stop, people should cease fire, return to their respective positions and refer the matter to the United Nations. About 100,000 casualties later that was done. That is what I proposed. It's a matter of official record in the minutes of my own union meeting.

Mr. SCHERER. That was the Communist Party line at that time, too, was it not?

Mr. BRIDGES. I am sorry. I didn't ask anybody. I know what I said at the time but I thought eventually the armistice was settled on that basis.

Mr. ARENS. In June of 1952, did you join in a statement that "U.S. denials of using bacteriological warfare in Korea are less than convincing"?

Mr. BRIDGES. When?

Mr. ARENS. On June 9, 1952.

Mr. BRIDGES. Join with whom?

Mr. ARENS. Other persons.

Mr. BRIDGES. I don't know.

(At this point, Mr. Tuck entered the hearing room.)

Mr. ARENS. I display to you now, if you please, sir, a photostatic reproduction of an article appearing in the Communist Daily People's World of June 9, 1952, in which a number of persons joined in sending a letter to President Truman, declaring that the U.S. denials of using bacteriological warfare in Korea are less than convincing, bearing a number of signatures, including the signature of Harry Bridges, president, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union. Kindly look at that article as I display it to you and tell this committee while you are under oath whether or not you joined in that statement.

(Document handed to witness.)

Mr. BRIDGES. I am in a mighty lot of good company here. Look.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly answer the question, sir? Did you join in issuing that statement which I have just recited?

Mr. BRIDGES. I am trying to find what relevance this has to me getting a passport.

Mr. ARENS. It certainly should be clear on this record that this committee is trying to develop factual information for the purpose of precluding passports to individuals whose presence abroad would be detrimental to the security and interest of this country.

Mr. BRIDGES. I am not going to go by memory. I am not going to go by newspaper statements.

Mr. ARENS. Did you or did you not join in that statement?

Mr. BRIDGES. My answer is: "Produce the official statement. I don't know about that."

Mr. ARENS. Do you have any recollection of joining in that statement?

Mr. BRIDGES. No.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Bridges—

Mr. BRIDGES. Now, listen. I can see what is going on here. When I say I have no recollection that doesn't necessarily mean that I did or I didn't. You hand me a newspaper here.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right. You do not remember whether you did or not?

Mr. BRIDGES. I could have. I don't remember. It's years ago and I get a lousy newspaper statement here and you ask me to go according to memory. I merely say, produce the document. It must be around somewhere.

(Document marked "Bridges Exhibit No. 17," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Bridges, were you on the sponsoring committee for a Vienna peace meet in 1952?

For the purpose of refreshing your recollection, I direct your attention now to the Communist Daily Worker, November 11, 1952, in which an article appears as follows:

West Coast longshore leader Harry Bridges has joined the U.S. Sponsoring Committee for Representation at the Congress of the Peoples for Peace, it was announced today by Dr. Willard Uphaus, the committee's executive director.

Kindly look at that article and see if that refreshes your recollection with reference to your sponsorship of that meeting in Vienna.

(The document was handed to the witness.)

Mr. BRIDGES. I have no recollection but, reading this, if I was asked, I probably did. I am willing to sponsor any convening of any meeting for world peace.

(Document marked "Bridges Exhibit No. 18," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Did you know that meeting held in Vienna in December 1952 had as one of its principal pronouncements a condemnation of the United States of America for allegedly engaging in bacteriological warfare in Korea?

Mr. BRIDGES. Did I know?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. BRIDGES. You are asking me did I sign a proposal or join in sponsoring. Then you are asking me something about what happened there.

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir. Did you know that organization which you sponsored issued a proclamation condemning the United States for engaging in bacteriological warfare in Korea?

Mr. BRIDGES. I don't remember but I possibly couldn't figure out what was going to happen exactly at that conference.

Mr. ARENS. Did you learn that the organization which you sponsored condemned your Government, the Government of the United States, for engaging in bacteriological warfare in Korea?

Mr. BRIDGES. I don't know. I am sure if I signed to sponsor that conference, it appeared in more papers than just the one that you, with your fine degree of selectivity, picked out. Maybe it appeared in some capitalist papers.

Mr. JOHNSANSEN. May I ask, with respect to this matter of the denials of germ warfare and participation in it by the United States being less convincing, do you now adhere to that view?

Mr. BRIDGES. I don't think the evidence is convincing. It's a pretty mild statement, "less than convincing," and there is a trial going on. There has just been one trial in San Francisco where the question of bacteriological warfare played a big part in that trial with a couple of people being tried.

Another case is coming on and some of the evidence developed there, I think, will support the statement "saying that we don't indulge in bacteriological warfare is less than convincing." I don't want to conceal anything, Mr. Johansen. I think our War Department has a department that is set up for that express purpose and it has not been outlawed as yet, and I hear enough statements and war cries of generals saying "if and when war starts anything goes," if you want to, ask me the direct question.

Mr. JOHNSANSEN. My question related directly to whether you believe, with respect to the allegation specifically regarding the Korean war, that the claims that it was not true were less than convincing.

Mr. BRIDGES. Yes. It seems to me that that was the nature of the question that there was a blanket denial that we wouldn't do such a thing and hadn't done such a thing, and I would say they weren't too convincing, in my mind.

To get back to the other thing, let's refer to what is going on here, Mr. Johansen, you see. There is a lot of things I do that usually, much to my disgust, many times appear in all kinds of papers, but what has been singled out here is the Communist Daily Worker, the

Communist People's World. In other words, the way the committee is operating, the only time these things appear, there is the Communist this or that. That is dirty pool.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Is the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco a Communist organization?

Mr. BRIDGES. It is a very conservative organization.

Mr. JOHANSEN. That is what I thought.

Your statements before them were quoted.

Mr. BRIDGES. They certainly were and I haven't denied a single one of them.

Mr. JOHANSEN. No; but you are trying to create the impression that the only sources of quotations are from Communist papers.

Mr. BRIDGES. They seem to be mighty frequent here and it is emphasized time after time, did I say this in this Communist publication, et cetera, et cetera.

The answer is probably yes, and I also said it through many, many other newspapers. That is my point.

Dig out a few more.

(Mr. Moulder left the room.)

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Bridges, do you expect next month to go to Tokyo to participate in the Pacific-Asia Dock Conference?

Mr. BRIDGES. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have a visa to go to Tokyo?

Mr. BRIDGES. Not yet.

Mr. ARENS. You have a U.S. passport, however?

Mr. BRIDGES. I do.

Mr. ARENS. Had you ever applied for a U.S. passport prior to the Kent-Briehl decision?

Mr. BRIDGES. No, Mr. Arens. There was too many people in this country trying to get me out without a passport—including the U.S. Government, for a long, long time.

Mr. ARENS. Had you ever traveled abroad prior to the time of the Kent-Briehl decision?

Mr. BRIDGES. I get the point. I tried to explain that today. The reason I didn't apply for a passport—

Mr. ARENS. No; just answer that first question.

Mr. BRIDGES. Was because I—certainly, I traveled all over. I used to be a seaman.

Mr. ARENS. After you arrived in the United States for permanent residence, did you ever travel abroad prior to the time that the Supreme Court announced the Kent-Briehl decision?

Mr. BRIDGES. No; I told you the story on that. Nearly 25 years the Government was trying to run me out.

Mr. ARENS. With the U.S. passport you are going to go to the Pacific-Asia Dock Conference, too?

Mr. BRIDGES. I hope so.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

The CHAIRMAN. Any questions, Mr. Doyle?

Mr. DOYLE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Mr. DOYLE. May I inquire, please, and ask your cooperation in reverting back to your statement about the common interest that your

union, in fact the dockworkers all over the world have? Because you have a common employer in that even though it is under different flags.

Mr. BRIDGES. Right.

Mr. DOYLE. You work for ships that travel the high seas to different countries.

Mr. BRIDGES. Every port we went to, Congressman, I saw ships there being worked in the various ports that our same men had worked on the Pacific coast.

Mr. DOYLE. Yes; I can understand that.

May I ask you this. When you went to France and to England or to the Netherlands, wherever you went, and they were seacoast nations, in your conference with fellow trade unionists of other languages, nationalities, did you discuss directly or indirectly the matter of what the uniform policy should be between your union and the other unions with reference to strikes? In other words, you stated a few minutes ago in substance, as I understand you, if the union in another nation asked your union to strike because they were on strike, of course you would do it in reciprocity.

Mr. BRIDGES. Right.

Mr. DOYLE. That is true; didn't you say that?

Mr. BRIDGES. Right.

Mr. DOYLE. Then I presume from that answer that if your union asked a union dealing as dockworkers, handling freight, on the high seas, for England or France, or any other nation, if you asked them to strike because you struck, even though they didn't know anything about the merits of it, simply the fact that your union struck, they would strike, in reciprocity?

Mr. BRIDGES. Oh, no. No. You are off the beam, Congressman.

Mr. DOYLE. Put me on the beam, please.

Mr. BRIDGES. I will be glad to.

Mr. DOYLE. To what extent is my question based on sound reasoning?

Mr. BRIDGES. Well, you see the way it works, if we, let us say, have a strike on the Pacific coast, now if the ships are not worked, that is if strikebreakers are not used to load the ships, then of course that cuts down the possibility of trouble.

Mr. DOYLE. That is right.

Mr. BRIDGES. Our reference is within that framework, that if we go on strike and if our employers use strikebreakers to get the ships away, we merely ask ports everywhere we can reach and we don't play any favorites, don't work that ship, she is hot as a firecracker. So it is not a strike, it is not that they all walk out on strike.

Let me give you a better example. I think it makes it clearer. We were in London, England. The biggest union in England is the Transport and General Workers Union. Most of our discussions were with Mr. Frank Cousins and Mr. Tim O'Leary. Mr. Tim O'Leary is head of the dockers section of the Transport and General Workers and Mr. Cousins is the president of the International Transport Federation.

One of the No. 1 demands of the British longshoreman is a pension plan like we have. We have \$100 a month in addition to social security.

So we were speaking of men working on the British docks, working very hard, too, 70 as high as 83 years of age, and I merely pointed out that the British shipowners, and we work their ships on the Pacific coast—we tax them 23½ cents a ton for every ton of cargo handled for a pension for our workers here in America. Charity begins at home. If those British shipowners, and I never yet ran into any bankrupt shipowners, if they can pay a tax to pension off our long-shoremen here in America, they ought to be able to afford it in Britain. If and when the British union says the word, "Don't work British ships until they pay us a pension," I will recommend the union I represent not to work British ships.

Mr. DOYLE. Thank you for that statement.

Mr. BRIDGES. Is that clear?

Mr. DOYLE. Yes. That is clear as crystal to me.

Mr. BRIDGES. A good union program, too, isn't it?

Mr. DOYLE. I conclude from that statement and that explanation that you made, that right now there is a reciprocity between the trade unions of many of the nations of the world with your union, that if the British trade union dockworkers or any other shipping union, any place in the world, perhaps, if they decided to strike for any reason, and ask you to cooperate, your union would cooperate in a manner of reciprocity and vice versa?

Mr. BRIDGES. I think again you are off the beam. You are talking about something cut and dried. Here is as far as it went. As a matter of fact, in our discussions with the officers of the British trade union they, in effect, said, "Well, we think we will make it without anything like that." So they made no request.

I merely said "but if you reach the point where you think we can give you a hand along those lines, let me know and we will take it up with the union." I was in no position to guarantee it, you see. I say generally that was the case, whether it be in France, Germany, or any other place. Then we had another problem, you see, that is—

Mr. DOYLE. I think you explained my question.

But I wish to say to you, sir, that my impression is from your prior statement and even now that there is enough reciprocity from what you say between the dockworker unions in the world to result, if you say so, as far as the American union is concerned in a shipworkers—dockworkers strike, if it is of common interest and concern in your judgment between the dockworkers of the world, whether it is on fringe benefits or whether they hire nonunion workers or whatever the cause. Am I wrong?

Mr. BRIDGES. Well, if I understand the question, I think you are right, Congressman. In other words, that if we wanted to get an increase in wages, for example, I can only talk to the union I represent. That is, in this case, the dockworkers on the west coast—

Mr. DOYLE. That is right.

Mr. BRIDGES. And that we thought the situation was urgent enough to send out a request for help to dockworkers in other countries, you would say there has already been enough understanding established that we would get a response, maybe not a complete response but a partial response.

Mr. DOYLE. That is right.

Mr. BRIDGES. I think that is true.

Mr. DOYLE. Would you yield for one more question?

Mr. BRIDGES. That is exactly what we are after.

Mr. DOYLE. Of course it is.

Mr. BRIDGES. What is the matter with it?

Mr. DOYLE. As I see it, to be frank with you, the danger of it is that the whole shipping program of the United States of America, commercial ships at least, is controlled by unions who have an understanding at this time, so far as the dockworking is concerned.

Mr. BRIDGES. Gee, I wish—the union sure wishes that was true, Mr. Congressman. But it is not true.

Mr. DOYLE. And there is great danger in your wish.

Mr. BRIDGES. The unions control the shipping situation.

Mr. DOYLE. Of the world, yes.

Mr. BRIDGES. Never mind the world. I am talking about America. I am talking about the United States.

Mr. DOYLE. All right. I think there is great danger to our national interests in that one union, your union, as I take it, controls the dockworkers of America.

Mr. BRIDGES. We don't.

Mr. DOYLE. How near do you come to doing it?

Mr. BRIDGES. What do you mean? We don't control a thing. The workers in the union control the union.

Mr. DOYLE. But you are employed by the workers in the union which controls the dockworkers of our country.

Mr. BRIDGES. And they control me and you know that is true, Congressman Doyle. You are from California and you know our rules, probably better than any member of your committee. You know we have a rule in our union that 15 percent of the members in good standing can sign a petition in my union and remove me from office like that, because my nose is too long. You know that, don't you?

Mr. DOYLE. Now, may I be permitted to close?

In view of your statement that you think I am more or less well informed on the shipping problems on the Pacific coast, because I am proud of the fact that I was born in California and have lived there all my life—

Mr. BRIDGES. I am a resident by choice.

Mr. DOYLE. I wish to say, Mr. Bridges, I think it is common knowledge among we citizens of California at least that on account of your leadership ability, your tact, your organizational ability, you, yourself, are more than just the elected employee of the dockworkers of the country.

Mr. BRIDGES. I am the president.

Mr. DOYLE. In other words, you compliment your union members by saying they elect you. I compliment you by saying that they elect you because of your leadership abilities, very clearly proven. The thing I am getting across to you, that when you answered my questions as you have today, I want you to realize that you are in a position of very unusual, very great, not only of leadership but of worldwide responsibility. And what you do in your union, generally speaking, your union does.

Thank you very much for answering my questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Any questions, Governor?

Mr. TUCK. I have no questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Scherer.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Bridges, I believe in the early part of your testimony you referred to Chiang Kai-shek as a bum and said that you wouldn't hesitate to call a strike if it meant the tying up of shipping of materials that were to be sent to him by the Government of the United States, even though the President of the United States had concluded that was the thing to do.

Mr. BRIDGES. I never said that.

Mr. SCHERER. You didn't say that?

Mr. BRIDGES. That was your saying. I never said it. You asked me a question along those lines. I said we have to cross that bridge when we come to it and then counsel here dug up an interview with Mike Wallace and asked me had I been asked a question and answered certain lines at that time. I think I said that was the answer I made at that time, yes.

Mr. SCHERER. Yes, I think that you—

Mr. BRIDGES. I said Chiang Kai-shek was a bum. I said that, too. I will say it again.

Mr. SCHERER. Did you not say that you would not hesitate to call a strike if you felt that the sending of arms to Chiang Kai-shek was improper? Didn't you testify to that?

Mr. BRIDGES. No, I didn't. I think I said—

Mr. SCHERER. Then your recollection of the testimony is different from mine.

Mr. BRIDGES. I think it is. It is surprising how testimony here seems to get mixed up between myself and the members. But I think the record is the best evidence, your memory or mine, Mr. Congressman.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman, I don't have any more questions but I do have an observation. It seems to me that it is almost inconceivable that a man like Harry Bridges, head of the Communist-dominated longshoremen's union, has so much power that he can tie up the shipping on the west coast and Hawaii, almost at will, either in time of war or otherwise. There is no question that on his recent trip he contacted Communist labor leaders throughout the world, so that a worldwide shipping boycott can be set up sometime in the near future. To me this demonstrates beyond a doubt, beyond the peradventure of a doubt, the need for labor legislation which will deprive men like Bridges and Hoffa of the unconscionable monopolistic power they have over the economy of the United States.

Mr. BRIDGES. That is not a true statement, Mr. Chairman.

And there are no facts to support it. I can understand Mr. Scherer's attitude if he feels that way. It is the same as his attitude of trying to deny statehood for Hawaii.

Mr. SCHERER. That is right. And since you raised the question, after listening to your testimony my vote against Hawaiian statehood looks much, much better.

Mr. BRIDGES. That is the difference between you and I, Congressman. I believe in democracy and practice it.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Johansen, do you have any questions?

Mr. JOHANSEN. Just one very brief question, Mr. Chairman.

For the purpose of understanding your position, Mr. Bridges, and clarifying the record, is it my understanding that you believe that there

is a basic right, shall we say, as a part of this belief in democracy, that the unions, by a majority vote or by power delegated to their president on the basis of their sentiments and views with regard to national issues, may take steps which interfere with national policy in the field of national defense and, particularly in case of war, through the interference with shipping or the handling of shipments called for in the prosecution of national defense or war?

Mr. BRIDGES. The best way I can answer that, Mr. Johansen, is to refer you to the record of our union. It is something that has never taken place. The questions that I was asked and the discussion took place in a certain area where I made it clear. Now you are asking me about a war to put Chiang Kai-shek back on the mainland of China. These were the questions I was asked and I said that by golly, I thought—

Mr. JOHANSEN. I wonder if the witness would direct his answer not to the questions that he is referring to that others asked, but the specific question which I asked.

Mr. BRIDGES. I am trying to, Mr. Congressman, believe me, and breaking it down, first to deal with the general question instead of taking what I say is an answer, I referred you to the record of the union I represent in wartime. It is as good or better than any single union in this country. Isn't that true, instead of asking me hypothetical questions? I won't give a hypothetical answer.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Pursuing that very statement, am I to understand that there has been no instance in which the type of thing that I described, which you referred to as hypothetical, has occurred in war?

Mr. BRIDGES. Right. Exactly; you are right on the nose, Congressman.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Does that mean that there has never been any instance, in which the handling of shipping for defense purposes, for the purpose of the prosecution of war or for the purpose of providing medical supplies for men engaged in war, has never been interfered with?

Mr. BRIDGES. Absolutely none to my recollection.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Is that true—understand, we are not quibbling over the question of whether the Korean war involved a declaration of war or not—is that answer true with respect to the Korean war?

Mr. BRIDGES. Yes, sir.

Mr. JOHANSEN. And is that true with respect to every instance, to your knowledge, in the handling of medical supplies or any other type of supplies for troops of the United States engaged in war?

Mr. BRIDGES. To the best—there might be some occasion. That is a pretty broad statement, Congressman. By and large it is true when you say any other type of supplies. Our experience in strikes, I am talking about strikes against private shipping operators, suddenly, everything on the damn ship is something that is needed by the troops or the Army or something like that. It suddenly becomes that kind of cargo as an excuse or as just a public argument. By and large, the answer to your question is, it has never happened.

Mr. JOHANSEN. I have just one other question.

Mr. BRIDGES. Have I made it clear, Mr. Congressman?

Mr. JOHANSEN. I am not pursuing that question further at this point.

Mr. BRIDGES. All right.

Mr. JOHANSEN. In some way or other, the reference to Chiang Kai-shek as a bum, has crept into this testimony. Would you characterize Mr. Stalin, or Mr. Khrushchev, or any of the world leaders of communism, by that same term?

Mr. BRIDGES. I think there is quite a difference.

Mr. DOYLE. May I have that answer again, please?

The CHAIRMAN. He said there is quite a difference.

Mr. BRIDGES. I said I think there is quite a difference.

Mr. Congressman, you are asking me—I assume that the purpose of asking these questions—why counsel is getting all agitated here—the purpose of asking these questions is not to get me out on the limb so you start some perjury indictments. I am speaking here pretty loosely. I am not consulting with counsel.

Mr. DOYLE. I agree with that on the last answer.

The CHAIRMAN. Some of the answers fall in the same category.

Mr. BRIDGES. I agree I have a right.

The CHAIRMAN. Anything further, Mr. Arens?

Mr. ARENS. No further questions.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will stand adjourned to meet tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock.

Mr. BRIDGES. Am I excused, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. You are excused with the thanks of the committee.

Mr. BRIDGES. Thank you.

(Witness excused.)

(Present: Representatives Walter, Doyle, Tuck, Scherer, and Johansen.)

(Whereupon, at 3:50 p.m., Tuesday, April 21, the committee adjourned to reconvene at 10 a.m., Wednesday, April 22, 1959.)

(The following is inserted in the record at the direction of Congressman Gordon H. Scherer, see Part 2, Passport Security Hearings, April 22, 1959.)

INSIDE LABOR

Why Did Bridges Get Red Carpet?

By VICTOR RIESEL

During Harry Bridges' recent visit to Rome, the U.S. Embassy there rolled out a carpet for him as red as the politics and philosophies of the Soviet lands he loves so much.

Machine-gun-tongued Brother Bridges, whose union was ousted from the old CIO on charges of Communist domination, got very, very VIP treatment. Embassy officials not only rolled out the carpet, they rolled out one of the big U.S. cars so he wouldn't get footsore slogging over the ancient city.

Bridges, who says most of us lie about the great experiment behind the Bolshoi border was taken to lunch by his old neighbor, Ambassador J. D. Zellerbach. Because the Ambassador has been gracious to me with his hospitality and hors d'oeuvres exhortations against Italian Communists who have several times stormed his Embassy, I report quite gently that he has disturbed the State Department back home.

THE STATE DEPARTMENT'S AGITATION and investigation does not surprise me. I recall that during my recent visit to Rome I ran into one of the new American diplomats. He wasn't ugly at all. Not even in the striped shirt which now has replaced those imperialistic striped pants. He was no cookie pusher—he was a Harry Bridges pusher. Every man is entitled to choose his

own political sauce for his spaghetti. I prefer the white to the red clammy variety served up by this expert.

What the State Department now wants to know of its experts in Italy is why they made it so gay for Bridges during the days the head of the Pacific Coast Longshoremen's Union was visiting the very same Communist chief who had helped organize and whose followers have howled in anti-U.S. and anti-NATO riots.

HARRY BRIDGES' COMRADE-IN-ARMS during the Rome stay was Communist Party labor chief Agostino Novella. This comrade has done everything he can to weaken America's defense alliance with Italy and to dislodge us from our military bases, waterfront and naval stations there. By our I mean, of course, the NATO defense network, too.

Now, lest you think that Comrade Novella is just another Communist member of the Italian Parliament and leader of powerful pro-Soviet labor cadres, I rush to report that the brother has just been promoted. Harry Bridges' friend and host was appointed the head of Moscow's global labor network last week in Warsaw.

TOVARISCH NOVELLA NOW IS chairman of the Soviet-controlled labor apparatus known as the World Federation of Trade Unions. He was "unanimously" named the boss at the 19th session of the WFTU executive board—all appointed by Moscow. They gathered in Warsaw four days starting April 2.

This is the world network which has been running almost daily riots in Italy, disrupting railroads in Mexico, ripping up oil lines in the Near East and making plans for new "mass" riots.

WHEN BRIDGES RETURNED to the San Francisco-Anchorage (Alaska)-Hawaii triangle in which he is truly all powerful, he praised the East, knocked the West and invited two leading Russian unionists to address his Longshoremen's Union convention.

For this he deserves a red carpet? ? ? ? ?

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